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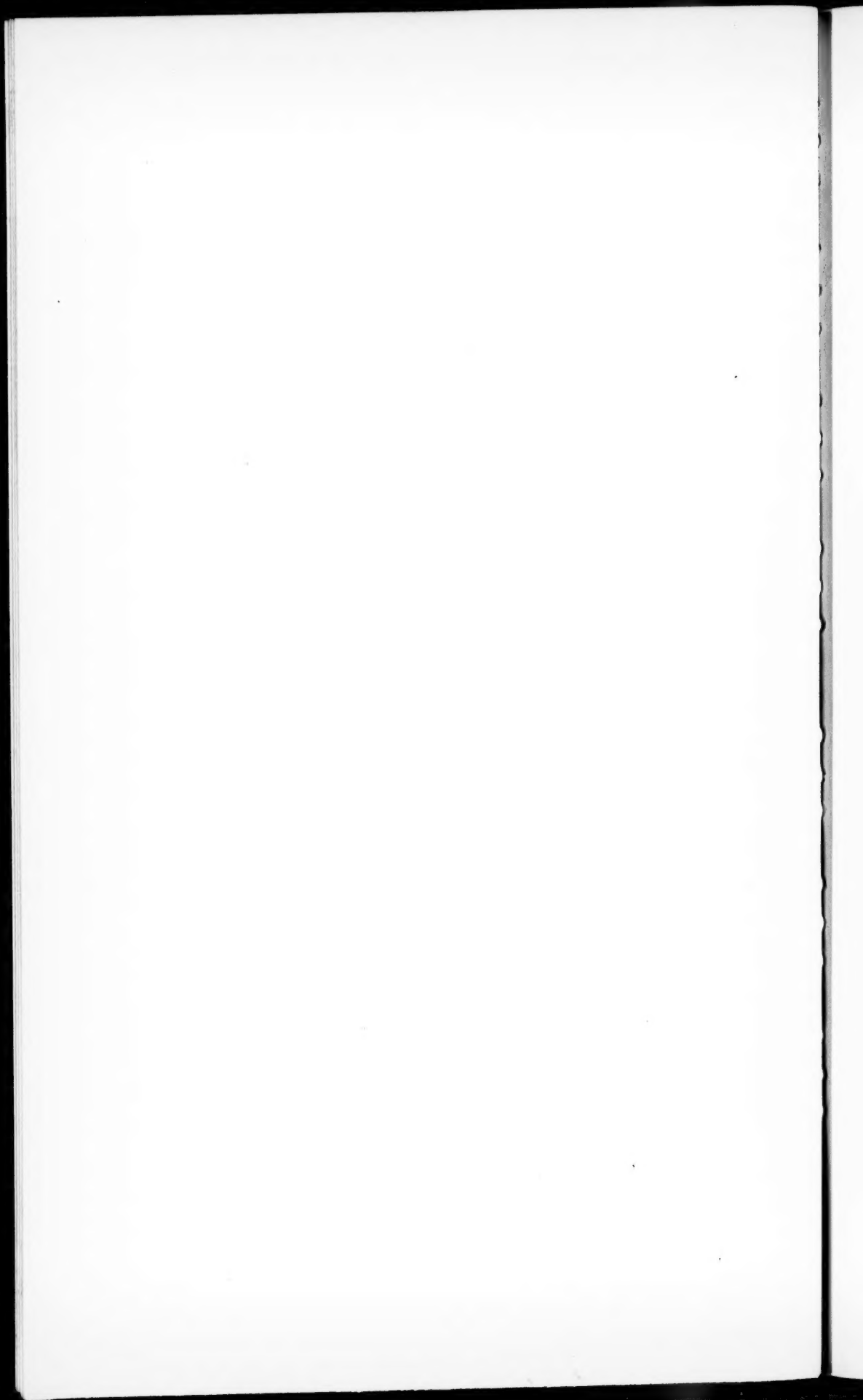
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The October number of the JOURNAL had already been set in type at the time of the death of Dr. C. W. E. Miller on August 7, 1934. An obituary notice will appear in the following number.

B. D. MERITT.



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QUOTATIONS FROM LUCAN IN MEDIAEVAL LATIN AUTHORS.

Whether we lament or rejoice that classical quotation has become very nearly a lost art, we cannot but recognize the value of its past popularity in affording us a gauge of literary and historical tastes, as a not unimportant element in the study of the transmission of ancient authors. Poetry is always more freely quoted than prose, and epic verse is particularly adapted by its subject, metre and style to citation of the most diverse variety. Lucan's *Pharsalia* was, next to the *Aeneid*, the most popular classical epic in the Middle Ages, but, unlike Vergil's work, makes little appeal to the majority of classical students today. Hence the constant use of Lucan's verses affords ample material for a study of the manner and functions of classical quotations in mediaeval literature, in which critical analysis is furthered by the necessity of accounting for the popularity of a work now little esteemed. The thousands of citations from Lucan in the works of hundreds of authors form a mass of evidence which is not readily reducible to small compass. Their range and variety is in itself so significant as to make selection doubly difficult, but a general classification and a few examples may give a fair picture and attract some attention to this phase of the transmission of classical culture.¹

¹ To avoid an undue bulk of footnotes documentation has been reduced to a minimum in this paper, and bibliographical references are given chiefly in case of direct quotation. As far as possible the best editions of the authors cited have been used, together with monographs on their sources and on Lucan's influence. The latter, however, rarely touch directly on the subject of this paper. There is no single adequate summary of citations from Lucan available, but the fullest list, and one

Quotations in independent works are supplemented by the many marked passages, ranging from single verses to selections a hundred lines or more in length, found in manuscripts of Lucan, as of other favorite authors, and by many similar but rarely identical selections in numerous *florilegia*. In these three sources I have found some 3870 lines (of the 8060 in the whole poem) either quoted or marked for special notice, and a very large number with only a single citation or notation. The range is so wide and the combinations of lines in the authors and manuscripts so diverse and so much at variance with the selections in the *florilegia*, themselves of endless variety, as to refute the idea that all these citations are regularly derived from the *florilegia* rather than from personal knowledge. The many citations in Priscian and other grammarians also fail to supply a common source, which is the more natural since the lines that illustrate a trick of metre or syntax, or contain a rare word, are not often the most useful to the historian or the moralist, or the poet who seeks to embellish his verse with a classical tag. Again, the Lucan citations in early inscriptions have little in common with those in literary works.²

It seems inevitable to conclude that Lucan was often quoted directly, and the more stubborn adherents of the *florilegia* theory may take refuge in the thought that educated men would be sure to remember many lines of a school poet, though they never read his work after leaving school. Yet those mediaeval authors who turned directly to Lucan for the happy phrase to describe a battle, hero, snake or river, an eclipse of the sun, or other portent, God or the devil, the crime of avarice or the virtue of a Cato's rigid honesty, did not go unrewarded.

comparatively free from errors in citation, is that of Manitius in *Philologus* LI (1892), 704-719. The same author's articles on late Latin poets in *Rh. Mus.* XLIV (1889), 540-552, and L (1895), 315-320, and in *Zeitschr. f. d. österreichischen Gymnasien* XXXVII (1886), 81-101, 241-254, 401-411 are also useful. All these, however, merely list citations, and do not indicate their character or context.

² See C. Hosius in *Rh. Mus.* XLVII (1892), 463; L (1895), 286-300. Hosius remarks that the apparent citations in many inscriptions are from lines in general use, not from direct reading of the poets, and in many cases are merely catch-phrases. Yet, except for the ever popular characterization of Cato (*Phars.* ii. 389 ff.) few of the lines in the inscriptions are among those much quoted by mediaeval authors.

The frequency of citations from Lucan in popular works must have led many to consult him directly or to cite his epic at second-hand, who would not otherwise have read it. Occasionally they quoted under his name a verse of Ovid or Juvenal or some unidentified tag, and pseudo-Lucan citations appear in the *florilegia* as well. The quotations in the first volume of the *Poetae Latini Aevi Karolini* are all, with two exceptions (one the very familiar ii. 389 on Cato, the other a line quoted from Isidore) from the first book of the *Pharsalia*: did the early Carolingians read only the first book, as some later students have done? Suger, whose frequent citations are almost evenly distributed between the more and the less familiar lines, showed a little too much of the conscious labor of fitting the quoted word to the action when he wrote: *cum alius mortem, alius exheredacionem tantum formidaret, versus ille eis aptari poterat*:

solatia fati
Cartago Mariusque tulit.³

A more flexible handling of Lucan's phrase is seen when a verse was altered in the quotation so that its meaning was reversed, heightening the effect if the author rightly assumed that his readers were as familiar with the original as he was. So Albertinus Mussatus apostrophized Can Grande before the walls of Padua:

*Bella geris multos habitura triumphos.*⁴

And Nigellus Wireker's Brunellus, whose university career would naturally lead him to muddle his historical allusions, must have provoked many readers to mirth when he perpetrated such a howler as

*Mitius in duris sapiens Cato mandat agendum
Mollia ne pereant asperitate gravi.*⁵

The letters of Abelard and his circle show how natural it was to seek moral support in Lucan's words. He himself re-

³ *Vie de Louis le Gros*, ed. Waquet (Paris, 1929), 92, quoting *Phars.* ii. 91-92.

⁴ *De Gestis Ital.* ix, ed. Muratori, *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum* X, 694; cf. *Phars.* i. 12.

⁵ *Speculum Stultorum*, ed. Wright, *Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets* (London, 1872), I, 21. Contrast *Phars.* ix. 379 ff.

cords how the thought of Cornelia's lament strengthened Heloise's determination to take the veil. He quoted Lucan several times in both personal and theological works, and Peter of Cluny cited the *Pharsalia* in his letters to Heloise for guidance in her official and personal problems, once quoting to her another part of the same tragic scene of Cornelia:

Vivit post funera Magnus,
Sed fortuna perit, quod defles, illud amasti. (*Phars.* viii. 84-85)

It is noteworthy that two of Peter's citations are given as *communis opinio*. The phrase was well used in the case of viii. 85, which John of Salisbury quoted in a warning against grief for the loss of temporal goods; *absit ut invidia antiquo suo vobis possit insultare proverbio dicens:*

quod defles, illud amasti.*

Estimates of Lucan's influence emphasize the mediaeval fondness for his brilliant rhetorical style and apt *sententiae*, which made him a suitable source of lines and phrases to adorn a work judged by artificial standards of rhetoric, and a good general model for form. In regard to substance, they emphasize especially his place as an historical authority for the Civil War which he describes, and as a source for descriptions of battles and the characteristics of heroes. They seek him as a model for the expression of republican sentiments as well. To a somewhat smaller extent his supernatural and scientific passages, which so often seem mere digression to us, filled an apparent need in spite of their lack of accuracy. The very display of learning that antagonizes some modern readers was an added attraction to the mediaeval mind. Perhaps because of the prevalent prejudice against rhetorical *sententiae*, which leads us to question the sincerity of thought cast in this form, modern criticism of Lucan's influence has been more concerned with his style and his historical value than with his moral and ethical judgments. The more carefully one studies the influence of Lucan on mediaeval writing, the more the impression grows that not only his brilliance in expression but also sympathy for the thoughts expressed determined his popularity.

Since the favorite individual lines of Lucan are chiefly his-

* *Ep.* xcix, ed. Migne *P. L.* CXCIX, col. 90.

torical in application, these may serve as a fitting introduction to the general use of the poem by historians, to be followed by consideration of the citations of scientific material, the use of Lucan in ethical passages and by grammarians and rhetoricians, as well as the incorporation of his lines and phrases in the work of later poets.

The most popular single line was i. 281:

Tolle moras, semper nocuit differre paratis,

which might seem more likely to be popular with us than with the more leisurely men of the Middle Ages. Yet a mediaeval king who found himself in any situation requiring prompt action was bound to quote it or have it quoted to him. Matthew Paris made it Harold's excuse for seizing the crown; Ordericus Vitalis quoted it as the final argument that decided William Rufus to build a monastery. This king, however, did not quote the line himself, for as William of Malmesbury assures us, he was too illiterate for such elegance of speech, though his character and actions would have led inevitably to the conclusion that he was a reincarnation of Lucan's Caesar, *si Christianitas nostra pateretur*. Henry I, according to Ordericus, had progressed so far as to utter the line himself. Richard I used it to quell a mutiny of his soldiers in Sicily and to urge the king of France to make haste to join him. Charles IV of Germany quoted the line in his autobiography as a proverb exemplified by his ruinous delay in seeking winter-quarters. Cosmas of Prag inserted it in an address of Wladislas to his soldiers, and Ferdinand of Castile in a letter to Gregory IX. Albert von Stade, reckless of anachronism, had Priam quote this verse in his Lucan-saturated *Troilus*. Many lesser men adopted the kingly phrase. Richard of Dyon inserted it in Longchamp's speech accepting terms of surrender. Fulcher of Chartres and William of Tyre put it in the minds of Frankish nobles on the Crusades. Guillaume de Nangis cited it as an Ovidian line in his account of the siege of Messana in A. D. 1280, and Lambert of Ardres had it twice in the speeches of his counts. Benedict of Peterborough claimed that the common soldiery murmured these words when weary of marching without giving battle, but perhaps Raoul de Diceto knew his infantry better when he said of a group of men besieged at Fontaines in A. D. 1191: *Recolere*

poterant, si litteras nossent, illud a Lucano poeta metrice scriptum:

Dignum te Caesaris ira,
Nullus honor faciet.⁷

In the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum* formerly ascribed to Gautier de Chatillon, the line illustrates the casting off of torpor by *magnanimitas*. In a letter of John of Salisbury it is coupled with a line of Ovid as a spur to action. In the *Visio Tnugdali* it points the value of prompt confession, and Elmer of Canterbury used it to urge his brother to monastic life. Even the leisurely Baudri de Bourgueil cited it twice, and Dante incorporated it into his *Inferno*. In the *Acta Sanctorum* we find it used to hasten the translation of the body of St. Agatha from Constantinople to Catana. A more worldly turn was given the phrase in the *Phagifacetis* of Reinerius, who advised quick action in offering one's lord the wine cup, for prompt service never did any harm—*numquam nocuit servire paratis*.

Almost equally popular with historians and moralists alike was Lucan's reflection on the sharing of royal power:

Nulla fides regni sociis, omnisque potestas
Impatiens consortis erit. (i. 92-93)

It was quoted five times by Matthew Paris, twice each by Rupert von Deutz, Thietmar and Theodoricus Monachus. Mediaeval kings offered many proofs of its essential truth, which historians and moralists duly noted. Peter of Cluny applied the line to the need of a single authority in a monastery, and Theodulph of Orleans used it as the title of a poem.

A phrase quoted with less reminiscence of its original intention than either of these is the famous *magni nominis umbra* of *Pharsalia* i. 135. As early as the fifth century this was a current expression, if we may judge by Claudian's epigram on a beaver coat that had, like Pompey, seen better days. Abelard used the phrase in its full context, applying it to Anselm of Laon in whose shadow of a mighty name he could not bear to remain idling. Richard of Dyon represented a bishop as advised to be content with his bishopric, three castles and *magni nominis umbra*. Anselm of Liège, in the eleventh century, applied it to

⁷ *Imagines historiarum*, ed. Stubbs, *Rolls Series*, 116, quoting *Phars.* iii. 136-137.

a parish bereft of its pastor, while Matthew of Vendome had his *scolaris* marvel at those who consider only the shadow of a father's name and not the full weight of filial piety. Perhaps the finest application was that of Otto of Freising, who wrote of the *regnum Romanorum: extat alternationibus, maxime diebus nostris, ex nobilissimo factum est pene novissimum, ut iuxta poetam vix magni stat nominis umbra*.⁸

Many other lines are quoted in connection with historical characters, usually in the pregnant style of quotation that not only adorns a passage with an apt phrase, but enriches it by the reader's recollection of the original context. This is clear in the examples of *Pharsalia* i. 281 mentioned above, in which the object of the citation was in part the association of a contemporary king or general with the great Caesar. Thomas Walsingham represented the *vulgus* as applying to the downfall of the Percy family the mournful words of Pompey's son on his father's shameful death. In the *Memorials of Richard I* for the year 1190 the death of Pompey is recalled as the one worthy parallel for the grief felt at Frederick's loss: *Quod si veterum annales inquirimus, quid historiae tradant, quid fabulae confingant, de luctu matrum, nuptarum gemitu, quorumcumque planctus, dolor iste*

Exemploque carens, et nulli cognitus aevo,

cunctorum lacrymas et lamenta transcendit.⁹

Pius II in his *apologia* to the Gallic envoys in the Council at Mantua in A. D. 1459 quoted Lucan's famous lines:

Nulla fides pietasque viris qui castra sequuntur;
Venalesque manus, ibi fas, ubi maxima merces,

as the true attitude of his enemies, thus deriving added force for their confusion from the pagan poet's condemnation of Egyptian treachery.¹⁰ In like manner, the lines describing Caesar's ruthlessness:

⁸ *Chronica*, ed. Hofmeister (Hannover, 1912), *praefatio*, 7.

⁹ Thomas Walsingham, *Ypodigma Neustriæ*, ed. Riley, *Rolls Series*, 424, citing *Phars.* ix. 136-139; and *Memorials of Richard I*, ed. Stubbs, *Rolls Series*, I, 56, citing ix. 169.

¹⁰ *Responsio Pii II Papæ*, ed. d'Achery, *Spicilegium* III, 619, quoting x. 407-408.

Nullas nisi sanguine fuso
Gaudet habere vias,

often illustrated the character of a later emperor and were especially appropriate in connection with a march on Rome.¹¹

Ernaldus cited a line of Lucan (i. 372) to illustrate the submission of Bernard of Clairvaux to his abbot, and the famous descriptions of Cato's character were constantly in use to describe the more just and pious of historical characters. The most notable use of Lucan's Caesar is of course the *Alexandreis* of Gautier de Chatillon, in which not only are the metre, vocabulary and general thought clearly dependent on Lucan, as was fully recognized by Gautier's contemporaries, but by a neat chronological inversion Caesar is made to serve as a model for his great predecessor by the constant application of the descriptions of the Roman hero to the Macedonian. Among later emperors to whom Lucan's Caesar could properly serve as a model, the application of his characteristics to Frederick Barbarossa is particularly notable, as in Gunther's *Ligurinus*. Gunther's Frederick, however, derives as much from Cato as from Caesar. The frequent applications of verses from Lucan in Otto of Freising's narrative illustrate further the importance of the epic in Frederick's circle, and Godfrey of Viterbo had Lucan constantly in mind in his *Gesta Friderici*. Caesar as the conqueror and Cato as the model of rigid justice are the essential figures in the mediaeval gallery of historical portraits. One of the many cases in which an historical character is described in terms of Lucan's Cato is found in a Bohemian history in which the temperance of the 13th-century king Rudolphus is praised by means of *Pharsalia* ii. 384-387.¹² These lines are among those most commonly cited by ethical writers, and therefore were particularly appropriate for emphasizing the virtues of an individual in an historical account.

¹¹ *Phars.* ii. 439-440. A good example is Suger, *Vie de Louis le Gros*, ed. Waquet, p. 60, describing the emperor's journey to Rome in 1110, where the line is used to show the really destructive purpose of an apparently peaceful journey. Compare the use of vi. 284 in the description of Lothaire, *Annales Colonienses Maximi*, M. G. H. SS. XVII, 754.

¹² Johannes Victoriensis, ed. Böhmer, *Fontes Rerum Germanicarum* ii. 10, p. 329.

The *Pharsalia* furnished a surprising number of *testimonia* for local histories, because of the author's obvious love for tribal names, and for descriptions of rivers. When an historian has a single quotation from Lucan connected with the early history of his locality or with its geography, it is probable that the passage was preserved in the monastery archives as a *testimonium antiquitatis*, and its use does not imply actual reference to the *Pharsalia*. The estimation in which Lucan's authority was held in this connection may be illustrated by the false reading of *Saxones* for *Suessiones* in i. 423, which served Widukind of Corvey as a basis for his boast of the ancient nobility of the Saxons. Folcvin of Laubach applied Lucan's description of the Isère to the Oise by a similar confusion, whether conscious or not. The number of local historians in France and Germany who found their tribes and rivers mentioned in Lucan is quite amazing. The case of Italy is less surprising, and the descriptions of Caesar's activities there afforded many opportunities to historians of a later date.

As an instance of a heightening of a battle scene by a reminiscence of Lucan we may take a passage from Aelred of Rievaulx: *Sequitur lituum stridor, tubarum crepitus, fragor lancearum percutientium alteram ad alteram; tremit terra, fremit caelum, echo vicini montes collesque resultant.*¹³ On the other hand, recollection of the first lines of the epic seems to have lured the author of the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi* away from the fight into a rhetorical exercise:

Interea concrepantium invicem trompis, et alternos commiscentibus convenienter accentus, fit quaedam tonorum *discors concordia*, dum congrua sonorum productiore identitate, singulae singularum quodam modo repeterent exceptiones mutuas, et vocum restaurarent depressiones.¹⁴

Lucan's *sententiae* on the evils of civil war were frequently applied to the constant factional strife in the cities of Italy. Similar cases are naturally found in vernacular histories in the Middle Ages and later. The English historians of the twelfth century and the Italian chroniclers lead the list of Latin writers

¹³ *Relatio de Standardo*, ed. Howlett, *Rolls Series*, 195; cf. *Phars.* i. 237, *stridor lituum clangorque tubarum*.

¹⁴ *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi* ii. 13, ed. Stubbs, *Rolls Series*, 157. Cf. *Phars.* i. 98.

who depended on Lucan's characterization of civil war, but French and German chronicles and annals, saints' lives, and such individual historians as Guillaume de Nangis, Lambert of Hersfeld, Otto of Freising, Thietmar of Merseburg, Theoderich of St. Trond, make similar use of the *Pharsalia*. There is much historical appropriateness in the use of the words:

Omnisque potestas
Impatiens consortis erit, (Phars. i. 92-93)

in connection with the Guelph and Ghibelline factions. The works of John of Salisbury, especially the *Policraticus*, show significant combinations of political and ethical applications of Lucan's words, and Otto of Freising made the most suggestive general applications of Lucan to his own philosophy of history. Even the work of fortification, if we may trust the statement of Thietmar, was carried on with due consultation of Lucan's circumvallation of Dyrrachium.

Geographical and scientific writers made similar use of the *Pharsalia*. The Italian Guido of Pisa began his *Geographica* with a new application of *Pharsalia* ii. 383:

Nec sibi sed toti genitum se credere mundo,

surely an appropriate motto for his work. Lucan's tender interest in rivers has been often noted, and found such sympathetic echoes in the Middle Ages that it was natural to quote and imitate his descriptions of European streams. Even such a connoisseur of rivers as Ausonius cited Lucan often, and mediæval historians were equally fond of the geographical and pseudo-scientific *excursus*. The German historians especially enjoyed Lucan's rivers.

The tenth-century chronicler of Salerno cited *Pharsalia* i. 136 as evidence of the derivation of tribal names from local rivers, in this case deriving *Alemanni* from *Lemannus*. Rhaban Maur in his encyclopedic work *De Universo* quoted Lucan as an authority on rivers, birds, snakes and magic. Scattering quotations on these subjects may have been derived from the frequent use of Lucan by Isidore and Macrobius. Servius also contributed to the currency of Lucan's ideas on magic. Among the later encyclopedists who made considerable use of Lucan are Alexander Neckam and Vincent of Beauvais. The second

book of the *Pharsalia* was particularly rich in lines quoted for their bearing on geography and natural science, but most popular of all was the description in ix. 700-733 of the snakes of Africa, which became the *locus classicus* for serpents of any nationality, aided, no doubt, by Isidore's lavish quotations. Solinus was often quoted in connection with this description of the snakes, as in Theoderich of St. Trond's versification of Solinus. Roger Bacon quoted x. 147 in connection with Caesar's reform of the calendar. Scientific compilations in general quoted Lucan's authority often enough to justify contemporary historians in resting content with his conclusions on geography, meteorology, zoology and the like, however unsatisfactory they may seem to us. Abundant quotations from the *Pharsalia* in the *Mythographi Vaticani* testify to his standing in another field clearly linked with mediaeval science.

Among the many passages quoted for their ethical value, none was more influential than the estimate of Cato's character in ii. 377-391. Marginal scorings in many manuscripts testify to its popularity with students and general readers. It served equally as the general pattern of a virtuous life or to describe an individual, and appears frequently in the *florilegia*. The most popular lines are 388-390, very freely used in Christian epitaphs:

Urbi pater est, urbique maritus,
Iustitiae custos, rigidi servator honesti,
In commune bonus.

The popularity of this description of Cato doubtless contributed to the frequency with which later leaders were compared to him.

The apostrophe of poverty in v. 527-529 also made a wide appeal to moralists, and was perhaps less likely to be challenged in an age when the "secure poverty" of clerical or monastic life furnished a majority of readers, than in our present insecurity:

O vitae tuta facultas
Pauperis angustique lares! O munera nondum
Intellecta deum!

Giraldus Cambrensis quoted these verses three times, once, significantly, of the decline of the Cistercians from their original poverty. Petrus Cantor, who was fond of citing Lucan's attacks on *luxuria*, and making parallels between Roman and church

history by means of quotations from the *Pharsalia*, especially commended these lines.

The rôle of *pauper Amyclas* in Caesar's drama was not overlooked and his name was adopted from Lucan's epic as conventional for a poor man, and as a convenient pendant to Croesus. Among others, Alexander Neckam recalled Lucan's context when he described as a second Amyclas a sailor reputed to have crossed the English Channel with only a dog to help him. The *Metamorphosis Goliae* substituted Amyclas for Robert Pullen's surname, and Jean d'Hauteville's satire on university life, the *Architrenius*, used the name no less than four times, once in connection with lines 527-529.¹⁵ The diatribe against *luxuria* in iv. 373-381 was a particular favorite with the moralists. The Paris manuscript 5265 has a note which may in part explain its fame: *Hic invehitur in eos qui propter divitias faciunt bella. Hos versus studiosus lege.* Alberic of Monte Cassino cited the passage in his *Flores Rhetorici* as an example of *ethopoeia*. Bernard of Clairvaux in his *Vitis Mystica* called on Christians to blush that a heathen poet could express the ideals of Christian poverty better than they.

Line 819 of the seventh book:

Caelo tegitur qui non habet urnam,

also proved particularly useful to Christian moralists, and to the makers of ethical *florilegia*. Eugenius of Toledo quoted the verse on the non-burial of martyrs, and Remigius of Auxerre made it the basis of a query why the patriarchs were so anxious to provide proper burial for Christian bodies. It was effectively used with Vergil's *facilis iactura sepulchri* in Hildebert's *Moralis Philosophia*, in the confident answer of *Securitas* to the threat of *Timor*: *Insepultus iacebis.*

John of Salisbury quoted Lucan freely in his *Policraticus* and *Metalogicon*. In the *Historia Pontificalis*, where classical quotations are rare, Vergil, Horace and Lucan being quoted only once each, line 535 of Book viii,

Nulla fides umquam miseros elegit amicos,

¹⁵ See R. L. Poole, "Masters of the Schools at Paris and Chartres," *Eng. Hist. Rev.* XXXV (1920), 341: "It is evident, therefore, that in the twelfth century when Lucan was a regular schoolbook, the term *pauper Amyclas* had come to be used as a synonym for a poor man."

is given as a *proverbium*. In the *Policraticus* John quoted this line twice, once with the ordinary application to the fickleness of human affection, and again in connection with his ingenious proposal of a means to end civil war and schism without violence except to the leaders who had caused it. In 1166, the fourth year of his exile, John had sad occasion to apply the verse to his own needs, quoting it together with Photinus' hardhearted and practical precepts in an appeal to the Abbot of St. Edmund's.

John spoke of Vergil and Lucan together as the logical sources for Latin *exempla*, as Homer is for Greek, though "domestic *exempla* have more force." The wars of church and state, and affairs of court and church life, gave abundant occasion for ethical quotation from the *Pharsalia*, and Lucan's astronomical passages and his interpretations of omens also won admiration. There is considerable correspondence between John's citations and those of Hildebert of Lavardin, and of the *Moralium Dogma Philosophorum*, but this seems to be chiefly due to similarity of taste and purpose. John's frequent citation of Lucan's attacks on civil war, applied to the schisms of his own day, are of especial interest.

Among the many other twelfth- and thirteenth-century writers who valued the ethical applications of Lucan's work, Alain de Lille, in the *Anticlaudianus* and the *De Planctu Naturae*, frequently inserted phrases from Lucan in passages of similar context in his own work, showing clearly his dependence on his model both for thought and for expression. An excellent example is the speech of *Concordia* in *Anticlaudianus* ii. 5, with its allusions to the civil war, the greed of Crassus and the aims of Caesar. Sometimes bits from Ovid, Juvenal or other classical writers are found interspersed with those from Lucan, giving almost the effect of a cento.

John Garland also gave abundant proof of his earnest study of Lucan, and seems to quote the *Pharsalia* especially for its ethical value. Like Alain he tends to incorporate phrases and half-lines into his verse rather than quote *in extenso*. His direct use of Lucan in the *Morale Scolarium* is slight, but in the unpublished *Epithalamium* phrases from the *Pharsalia* are frequent, though less common than those from Vergil and Ovid, who offer more material directly related to his theme. In the *Clavis Compendii* he also used illustrations *teste Lucano* fairly

often. A careful study of his unpublished works would probably increase our conception of the extent to which the *Pharsalia* was memorized and utilized by this prolific schoolmaster, and it may not be amiss to suggest that Latin verses written by his pupils may have been rated in proportion to the number of classical phrases incorporated in them from the works of his great models.¹⁶

Petrus Cantor used Lucan in his *Verbum Abbreviatum* to illustrate Christian poverty, and also to attack simony and luxury of all sorts. He even found support for the mediaeval prohibition of usury in Lucan's *hinc, usura vorax* (i. 181).

Giraldus Cambrensis knew Lucan well, and quoted him with much interest in historical and ethical connections. He was particularly fond of i. 70-71,

Summisque negatum / Stare diu,

and of ii. 657,

Nil credens actum dum quid supereset agendum,

which he seems almost to have adopted as a personal motto, applying it to his own actions in his autobiography. His Welsh birth gave him a special interest in i. 449 for its mention of the *Bardi*, but he condemns Welsh lavishness in offering potations with the words,

Facinus quos inquinat aequat. (v. 290)

He did not hesitate to couple his quotations from Lucan with biblical texts. The changes and chances of his own life may have led to his fondness for i. 510-511:

O faciles dare summa deos, eademque tueri
Difficiles!

There is curious contrast between the neglect of Lucan and Vergil in the lives of the poets in the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais and the abundant quotations from them in the great thirteenth-century encyclopedia. Vincent's citations

¹⁶ I have used the *Clavis Compendii* in MS *Gonville and Caius* 136 (Cambridge, s. xiii) and the *Epithalamium* in an unpublished text kindly loaned to me by Dr. E. Faye Wilson, who is preparing the critical edition of the work.

are chiefly the more familiar lines with ready ethical application. Several are used more than once, especially, in the *Doctrinale*, passages on death such as vii. 818-819. The *Speculum Naturale* of course quoted the snake passage in Book ix, as well as ethical lines.

Rupert von Deutz frequently used *exempla* from Roman history with quotations from Lucan as parallels to incidents in the Old and New Testament. Two lines that I have not found quoted elsewhere except in John of Salisbury are used with reference to study in the schools:

Ex abundantia est astruere processionem honoris ascensum recte dici,
cum in scholis quoque pueri lectitent, ducem nobilem dicentem militibus
suis:

Quo potuit civem populus perducere liber,
Ascendi, supraque nihil nisi regna reliqui.¹⁷

He used the *Pharsalia* freely in illustrations of Christian ethics and of scriptural passages dealing with geography and natural history.

While Horace, Juvenal and Persius naturally represented Latin satire in mediaeval classifications of Roman literature, quotations from Lucan were also freely used by mediaeval satirists. In satirical poems included in Wright's collections, hexameter lines from Lucan, as from Vergil, Ovid, Horace and Juvenal, are used as the fourth verse of a stanza in the Goliardic metre. This device, common in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, enabled the author to use full line quotations almost as readily as prose writers could, instead of merely suggesting the original by paraphrase in the metre of his verse.

It has already been suggested that Lucan's *sententiae* were considered suitable for a strictly Christian context. Augustine set a notable example, introducing his quotations now by Lucan's name, and now by the deprecatory *quidam poeta*. Prudentius is particularly rich in phrases from Lucan, especially in his descriptions of the passions of saints. It is not surprising, therefore, to find citations from Lucan in the *Acta Sanctorum*. Helinand's sermons apply Lucan's descriptions of Caesar and of the serpents to the devil, as well as citing him to illustrate

¹⁷ *De Victoria Verbi Dei* ed. Migne, P. L. CLXIX, col. 1226, quoting *Phars.* ii. 562-563.

Christian virtues. But God could also be invoked in the words of the *Pharsalia*, as we see in a ninth-century poem.¹⁸ On the other hand, Theodulph used Lucan's description of the violent act from which Rome sprang to typify the worldly conflict that the holy city deserts for heaven.¹⁹

The eleventh-century biography and translation of Clemens of Metz used Lucan freely in descriptions of the saint and his miracles; usually the author inserted in his prose narrative recognizable phrases from Lucan, and then expanded the same idea in hexameters clearly dependent on him, but without mention of the poet or indication of a quotation. Vergil, Prudentius and others are similarly used. In one striking instance Lucan's description (i. 469-472) of an empty rumor that caused many false prophecies is adapted with reversed meaning, emphasizing to those who recognized Lucan's words, the contrast between pagan falsehood and the true *virtutes* of Clemens, a clear case of that spoiling of the Egyptians advocated by the Fathers.

Peter of Cluny offered *Pharsalia* v. 28-29,

Veiosque habitante Camillo
Illic Roma fuit,

as authority for the transfer of the leadership of the Church to the Papal residence. Again, the contrast between the small number of the apostles and the importance of their work was illustrated in the *Dialogus de Pontificatu* by v. 340-343, ending

Humanum paucis vivit genus.

Naturally Christian battles, as in the twelfth-century *Messias* of Eupolemius, drew heavily on both Lucan and Vergil for their details. In such cases, a good classical education might well supply the lack of personal experience of war on the part of a monkish poet. Biblical commentaries, such as that of Thomas of Cîteaux on the *Song of Songs*, or of Hilarius on *Genesis*, drew freely on Lucan and Vergil for *exempla*.

¹⁸ *Hibernicus Exul*, *Carm.* i. 1-3, *M. G. H. Poetae Latini Aevi Karolini* I, 395:

O deus omnipotens, convexae conditor arcis,
Terrarum et maris et quae tantus continet orbis. . .

Cf. *Phars.* i. 110.

¹⁹ *Carm.* vii. 51-52, *ibid.* 462, adapting *Phars.* i. 95.

A note of apology for this free application of the words of a pagan poet may be seen in the letter of Hugh of Lucca to the monks of Canterbury, then under threat of excommunication: *at illud ethnicum hac tempestate locum potest propheticum obtinere,*

*Quis furor, o cives, quae est tanta licentia ferri?*²⁰

In view of this free use of the *Pharsalia* in theological works, it is not surprising that quotations from Lucan, whether direct borrowings or conventional phrases used without consciousness of their origin, are next in popularity in Christian inscriptions to those from Vergil and Ovid.²¹

Such a close association of the words of a pagan poet with the lives and doctrines of Christians was sure to rouse occasional protest. Rather of Verona lamented the preference of his contemporaries for *Bella per Emathios* as compared with the decrees of the Church councils, and for *jus datum sceleris* as against the rules of Christian life. But on at least one occasion he himself used a half-line of Lucan to describe a Hebrew conflict. Otloh of St. Emmeram objected to Boethius' fondness for Lucan as unsuited to a Christian philosopher, and ascribed his own conversion to monasticism to a visitation of illness during his ardent study of Lucan. Peter of Blois took a logical middle course, quoting freely from Lucan in his letters, but properly censuring Radulphus for making gods of Priscian and Tully, Lucan and Persius. Such a case illustrates still more clearly the enthusiasm with which Lucan was studied at the time.

Writers on grammar, rhetoric and prosody used Lucan far too freely to admit of brief analysis. Priscian's citations alone would go far to restore the *Pharsalia* if it were preserved to us in no other way, and there are few grammarians in whose work Lucan is not quoted. Naturally lines containing strange names or unusual forms predominate, and consequently the geographical passages are much cited. The grammarians in general had a happy habit of quoting at greater length than the case

²⁰ Cited in *Memorials of the Reign of Richard I, II*, 39, ed. Stubbs, *Rolls Series*, quoting *Phars.* i. 8.

²¹ Cf. Hosius, "*Römische Dichter auf Inschriften*," *Rh. Mus.* L (1895), 286-300.

required, as if they wished to keep the full flavor of a passage actually cited to illustrate a single word. Many of Servius' quotations from Lucan were intended as illustrations of points of syntax and prosody. The quotations from Lucan in the glossaries have been proved to be derived from commentaries on Vergil.²² The twelfth- and thirteenth-century grammarians, including Eberhard of Bethune, continued to make full use of the *Pharsalia*. The study of the epic in the schools made its citation in grammars and prosodic works doubly useful. The fact that many lines of Lucan quoted by mediaeval authors do not appear in the grammars forestalls any idea that the latter were largely responsible for the individual citations, but like the compilers of the *florilegia* the grammarians probably had something to do with establishing Lucan as a desirable author from whom to quote.

The use of the *Pharsalia* in vocabularies and dictionaries may be illustrated by Conrad of Mure's *Repertorium* and Alain de Lille's *Distinctio Dictionum Theologicarum*. The illustrations of *comparatio* drawn from Lucan in rhetorical treatises, as those of Grillius and Alberic of Monte Cassino, cast light on the frequent marginal notation, *Comparatio*, in the manuscripts.

Roger Bacon, who named Lucan as a leading authority for Latin grammar, actually cited him chiefly for prosody, and the *Dictamina* regularly took the *Pharsalia* as a metrical model, as Eberhard recommended. Hence came the use of *Bella per Emathios* as the stock example of *carmen heroicum*. Naturally therefore the mediaeval poet who contemplated an epic of war looked to Lucan for inspiration. William the Breton called on the spirit of Lucan, Vergil or Statius to help him write of Philip's deeds. William of Tyre called Lucan *belli civilis egregius prosator*, the model for civil war. Rolandinus of Padua sighed for Lucan or Vergil to help him clothe his history with worthy metre instead of his bare prose. Albert von Stade's *Troilus*, Godfrey of Viterbo's *Gesta Friderici*, Gunther's *Ligurius*, Joseph of Exeter's *Bellum Troianum*, and most of all, Gautier's *Alexander*, depended on Lucan not only for the pattern of warlike deeds and heroes, but for tricks of phrase and

²² See J. F. Mountford, *Quotations from Classical Authors in Mediaeval Latin Glossaries*, Cornell Studies in Cl. Phil. XXI (1928).

metre in endless variety. While the prose writer was free to introduce a quotation where he wished, the poet had to fit the quoted word or phrase into the current of his verse as successfully as might be. This was easiest with groups of two or more words, which often recalled the original quite as clearly as a full line. Many poets from early Christian days to the end of the Middle Ages illustrate this tendency. Occasionally, as was the case with Albert von Stade, the poet found it possible to incorporate whole lines from his model in his own verse, if he were writing hexameters. The striking use of a classical hexameter at the end of a Goliardic quatrain in the satirical poems has already been mentioned. The bits of original verse often embedded in prose histories make similar use of phrases from Lucan and other classical authors, as may be seen in Vincent's *Chronica Polonorum*, and the *Monumenta Epternacensia*, or in the work of Ferreto of Vicenza and others. Parallel with this is the inclusion of metrical phrases or recognizable paraphrases in a paragraph of prose, without any indication of quotation, as in the *Vita* of Clemens of Metz and the *Vita S. Willibrordi* of Thiofrid.

Space will not permit analysis of the numerous citations from Lucan in the prosodic and ethical *florilegia*. These follow the general lines already discussed, although, aside from the most popular lines, the citations in the *florilegia* correspond better with those marked in the manuscripts than with those quoted by individual authors. Quotations from Lucan in the *florilegia* bear out the general impression that an important function of these collections of verse was to provide metrical phrases and poetic vocabulary for the contemporary poet, or the school-boy set the task of verse composition.

As long as the *Pharsalia* continued to be widely studied it was freely quoted, in Latin and vernacular works, especially in connection with civil war and its problems. Even today, when a Latin quotation is no longer the essential ornament of English style, one hears echoes of *magni nominis umbra*, of *victrix causa deis placuit*, and in these latter days, of *nescit plebes ieiuna timere*.

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THE PERFECT PRINCE ACCORDING TO THE LATIN PANEGYRISTS.

From the fifth century B. C. to the present day we have an unbroken line of essays, the so-called *specula principum*, addressed to kings, princes and emperors, indulging them in a certain amount of praise, but setting forth in theoretical fashion the ideal of princeliness, good government, the best form of state, the duties and responsibilities of prince and subject alike, the essential uses of education and practice.¹ Somewhat akin to this *genre* is another, the panegyric or encomium, addressed not only to rulers but also to prominent citizens. While these panegyrics may in their essential parts be reduced to a type,² they nevertheless vary in their specific forms from the earliest spoken *laudatio*, and its cognate the later literary *laudatio funebris*, to encomiastic biography, as exemplified by the *Evagoras* in Greek and the *Agricola* in Latin. With neither of these extremes are we concerned here.

There are known many panegyrics in Latin, a considerable number of which are extant, addressed to princes or emperors, usually upon some definite occasion of state, or of good fortune to the panegyrist, eulogizing the qualities of the ruler. These panegyrics may or may not contain a section on "the perfect prince", "the ideal government", etc., but most of the longer and better ones do.³ Whether or not such a definitely labelled passage is present, there is usually much by implication even after the obvious adulation is skimmed off; and often we come

¹ This material I have discussed in several places: "The Perfect Prince: A Study in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Ideals", *Speculum*, III (1928), pp. 470-504; "Erasmus on Political Ethics . . .", *Political Science Quarterly*, XLIII (1928), pp. 520-543, with long bibliography; "The *Specula Principis* of the Carolingian Renaissance", *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, XII (1933), pp. 583-612. The material from antiquity and from the later middle ages is discussed in my book, *Erasmus on the Education of a Christian Prince*, which I hope to have ready soon, chapters III and IV.

² J. Mesk, "Zur Technik der lateinischen Panegyriker", *Rhein. Mus. f. Phil.* LXVII (1912), pp. 569-590, has analysed these in detail and discussed them according to the ancient rhetorical rules for the *genre*.

³ Most of the material comes after the reign of Diocletian, quite naturally, as we point out later.

upon a sound piece of political theory under the guise of a divine revelation to the ruler-elect, the coronation address expressing the mutual need of prince and people, the duties and responsibilities of the senate, the relation of the civil and military authorities.⁴ In this paper we have examined some of the Latin panegyrics, studying separately those in prose and verse, for such passages; we are not interested in the *genre per se*.

I

There has come down to us in the manuscripts a collection, now numbering twelve pieces, known as the *Panegyrici Latini*, consisting of eulogies addressed to several of the Roman emperors. By far the most famous, as well as the earliest and longest, is that spoken by the younger Pliny in 100 A. D. to the emperor Trajan in appreciation of the consulship which the emperor had just conferred upon him.⁵ Especially noteworthy also are those of Claudius Mamertinus, also in return for the consulship, to Julian in 362, and of Latinus Pacatus Drepanius to Theodosius in 389. Of the remaining nine essays, two are addressed to Maximianus (289, 291), one to Constantius (297), one delivered in Autun on the restoration of the schools there (297), one to Maximianus and Constantine (307), and four to Constantine (310, 311, 313, 321). Pliny's oration excepted, the material coincides almost precisely with the boundaries of the fourth century. As we might expect, and as even a casual examination of the texts will show, the material on the perfect prince is scanty, for, with Pliny's work again excepted, the essays contain no sections of abstract theory.

Pliny tells us that the prince should not be the lord (*dominus*)

⁴ The younger Pliny tells us (*Ep.* III. 18. 2-3) that he put his panegyric to Trajan into permanent form for two reasons; "first, that the good qualities of the present emperor may be commended by true praise; and secondly, that future princes may learn through precedent, rather than through [the teachings of] a master, the easiest route to the same glory. It is indeed splendid [he continues,] to prescribe the qualities of a true prince, but it is difficult and presumptive; but to praise the best of princes, and by this means to furnish later princes with a beacon light, as it were, by which they may be guided, is just as efficacious, but in no way boastful".

⁵ Some years later Fronto composed several panegyrics to Hadrian, and one or more to other prominent men. These have not survived

but the father (*pater*) of his people,⁶ mild and gentle by nature, merciful, self-controlled, free from lusts and greed,⁷ liberal and generous,⁸ surpassing all in strength, dignity, appearance, virtue and ability,⁹ brave,¹⁰ magnanimous and moderate,¹¹ truthful, not susceptible to flattery,¹² rejoicing in the general welfare of his people,¹³ so that everyone will be happy in his kindness.¹⁴ The best protection of the prince is the love and respect of his subjects.¹⁵ He should reform the youth,¹⁶ correct evil practices,¹⁷ establish just legal procedure,¹⁸ be himself subject to the law,¹⁹ possess good friends and good advisers.²⁰ He should travel so as to understand various peoples, places and conditions.²¹

We are ruled indeed by you, and subject to you, but in the same manner as we are subject to the laws. They check our desires and passions, but nevertheless are with us and of us. You surpass us, you excel us, as honor, or power, which are over man, but nevertheless are of man too. Before your accession, princes through a certain scorn for us and a fear of equality, as it were, lost the use of their feet. They were carried above us on the shoulders and backs of slaves; you are raised above those very princes through glory, devotion to your people, and freedom. . . .²²

A dominion (*dominatio*) and a principate (*principatus*) are very different.²³ Everyone gladly follows the good prince and imitates him.²⁴ His example is needed.²⁵

. . . You know in what the true and lasting glory of a prince is placed. These are the honors against which no flames, no breakdown of old age, no successor may avail. Arches and statues and even temples are demolished in oblivion, neglected and attacked by posterity. But the spirit that scorns, conquers and checks ambition and unlimited power flourishes by its very antiquity. It is praised by none more than those who are least obliged to. Besides, as each prince is created, straightway his reputation—good or bad as the case may be—is made lasting. The enduring fame which awaits a prince against his will is not to be sought after, but only the *good* fame. That latter is not passed on through images and statues, but through virtue and deeds of merit. Nay, even the less important matters of the prince's form and figure may not

⁶ 2.¹¹ 58.¹⁶ 47.²¹ 15.⁷ 2-3, 27.¹² 41.¹⁷ 53.²² 24.⁸ 28-31, 37, 50.¹³ 44.¹⁸ 36.²³ 45.⁹ 4, 67, 82.¹⁴ 22.¹⁹ 65.²⁴ 45-46.¹⁰ 13.¹⁵ 49.²⁰ 44, 88.²⁵ 45.

be better expressed and preserved in gold or silver than in the favor of mankind.²⁶

The others²⁷ tell us that the greatest good a prince can do is to furnish a *novum fatum* to his people;²⁸ his surest bodyguard is the love of his people.²⁹ "It is the part of a good ruler to move with deliberation in planning for the correction of difficulties, to fail not when fortune calls in favorable times."³⁰ He must be noble, wise, brave, dignified, kind, merciful, just, devoted to his people, chaste in his private life, moderate, generous, truthful, prudent, self-restrained, modest.³¹ The prince should be a good soldier;³² show mercy to the enemy;³³ he should provide for his people in peace;³⁴ reward the deserving and help the needy;³⁵ correct public morals, and check the royal expenditures.³⁶ He should be a leader in mind and example,³⁷ who is himself hardworking and good.³⁸ "It is the part of a good prince to see that his people are happy, but of a better one, to see them at work."³⁹ To foster education and help in the establishment of schools is one of the greatest boons that a prince can grant.⁴⁰ "Indeed, the essence of efficiency in a prince is to fail not in council even though he fail in strength; he should be readier to act than to advise, for he controls by his warning, helps by his efforts, fires by his examples."⁴¹

Two other panegyrists of the fourth century whose works are extant in whole or part, but not included in the above collection are well-known figures. Ausonius, the famous poet, friend and countryman of Drepanius, and tutor to Gratian, by whom he was made consul in 379, delivered his speech of thanks at Trier

²⁶ 55.

²⁷ The remaining writers of this collection are cited by the Roman numeral prefixed to their essays in the edition of Baehrens, *XII Panegyrici Latini*, Leipzig 1911.

²⁸ II. 27.

²⁹ III. 24.

³⁰ XII. 15.

³¹ II. 6, 16, 20, 24, 31, 40; III. 24, 26; IV. 16, 33; V. 2; VI. 6, 10, 19, 20; VIII. 3-5; XII. 4.

³² II. 8-11; II. 24.

³³ VI. 10.

³⁴ III. 12.

³⁵ V. 2.

³⁶ II. 13-14; cf. II. 5.

³⁷ IV. 29.

³⁸ III. 12-14.

³⁹ V. 7.

⁴⁰ IX. 19.

⁴¹ IV. 29.

on that occasion. The second is the last of the great adherents to the pagan religion, Q. Aurelius Symmachus, who after a prominent career attained the consulship in 391. He has left us three panegyrics (extant only in fragmentary form), two of which are addressed to Valentinian I in 369 and 370, and the third to his young son, Gratian, in 369. A few years later a pupil of Ausonius, himself distinguished in affairs civil and ecclesiastical, Paulinus, bishop of Nola, wrote "before his elevation to the bishopric a prose panegyric [now lost] to Theodosius on his victory over the tyrants, especially because he had conquered with faith and prayer rather than with arms".⁴² Early in the next century comes the prose panegyric of Merobaudes (of which only small fragments remain) on the second consulship of Aetius in 437. In the year 507 Ennodius, Bishop of Pavia, composed a high-sounding, fulsome panegyric on Theodosius. The list of works discussed here fittingly closes with the name of Cassiodorus Senator to whom is attributed a panegyric, of which only 41 lines remain, addressed to King Theodahad about 534-536.

The material from all of these last-mentioned writers is so scanty that it can readily be grouped together. The prince should be generous, brave, merciful, statesmanlike, strict, in his attention to duty, fostering peace and harmony under his rule, kind, affectionate, indulgent where possible, moderate in food and drink, chaste, vigorous, considerate, just, wise in speech, rewarding the good, interested in the sick and needy.⁴³ The good ruler expects no return in kind for his benefices; ⁴⁴ let him be approved by his acts; ⁴⁵ let him share his plenty with the many.⁴⁶ Nothing can be enjoyed as "good" if secured through cruelty.⁴⁷ The good prince is the "vicar of God", ⁴⁸ to whom he

⁴² Gennadius, *Viri Ill.* 48.

⁴³ Auson. 1, 2, 6, 8, 9, 14, 15, 16, 17. Cf. Symmachus, *Laud. Val. Prior* 11, 15; *id.*, *Laud. Grat.* 7, 9; *id.*, *Laud. Val. Altera* 32; Merobaudes, *Paneg.* I, frag. IA, 9-15; *Cassiod.*, 8-9, 15-25; 34-35; Ennod. (ed. Hartel, Leip. 1882), p. 274. 20, p. 277. 4-5.

⁴⁴ Auson. 17.

⁴⁵ Sym., *Laud. Grat.* 4.

⁴⁶ Ennod. p. 277. 5.

⁴⁷ Ennod. p. 284. 20-21.

⁴⁸ Auson. 5: "Deus et qui deo proximus tacito munera dispertit arbitrio et beneficiorum suorum indignatus per homines stare iudicium."

refers his plans.⁴⁹ The remark of Titus, "That day is lost on which no good deed was done,"⁵⁰ has much to commend it. The busy efforts of the ruler guaranty the peaceful leisure of the people.⁵¹ "In you there is missing neither the security of the brave man nor the caution of the worried. O double fullness of goodness in one prince, which must be referred to God himself since there is no one among men from whom he could seem to have gained it."⁵² The qualities of leader in civil as well as military affairs are essential.⁵³

II

Among the panegyrists who used verse as their medium Claudius Claudianus (ca. 370-ca. 408) is by far the most interesting and most important. While this Alexandrian who enjoyed so much imperial favor is not the first Latin panegyrist to write in verse, being preceded by at least the *Panegyricus Messallae* long attributed to Tibullus, the *Laus Pisonis* addressed in all probability to Calpurnius Piso, the well-known figure of the period, the lost *Laudes Neronis* of Lucan (39-65) delivered at the quinquennial festival of the Neronia in 60 A. D. when its author was just 21 years of age, and the panegyric of Statius to Domitian on his seventeenth consulship,⁵⁴ he is the first to have written extensively in this *genre* and to have included a good bulk of material germane to our study.⁵⁵ The most important source is his *Panegyricus de IV Consulatu Honorii*, but almost of equal importance are those on the third and sixth consulship of the same emperor, and his *Panegyricus Dictus Manlio Theodoro Consuli*.⁵⁶

... Ausonius was professedly a Christian; cf. the remark of Symmachus, the avowed pagan: "Similis est princeps deo pariter universa cernenti, qui cunctas partes novit imperii" (*Laud. Val. Prior* 1).

⁴⁹ Auson. 9.

⁵⁰ Auson. 16 = Suet., *Titus* 8.

⁵¹ Ennod. p. 277. 10.

⁵² Ennod. p. 277. 12-13.

⁵³ Sym., *Laud. Val. Prior* 19; *id.*, *Laud. Val. Altera* 2-4; cf. Ennod. p. 262. 21-22.

⁵⁴ *Silvae* IV. 1.

⁵⁵ The study of A. Parravicini, *I panegirici di Claudiano e i panegirici latini*, Rome 1909, I have not been able to examine.

⁵⁶ Important material is also found in the *Panegyricus Dictus Probino*

In more than one place Claudian has painted a detailed picture of the perfect prince. In the panegyric to Manlius Theodorus (399) who, as we learn from the opening lines of the poem itself, had had a brilliant career, the consul is visited by Justice who tells plainly how selfish it is for a well-trained virtuous, philosophic, efficient man to seclude himself; he is the type that public office needs.⁵⁷ And to his patron saint Stilicho there is addressed one passage in particular which should be noted in detail.

Moreover, all the virtues whose pure aspect puts all wickedness to flight live conjoined in thee and, dwelling within thy heart, aid thee in the manifold businesses of life. Justice teaches thee to prefer the right to the useful, to obey the general laws of mankind and never to enrich thy friends at others' cost. Patience strengthens thy body so that it seeks never to yield to toil. Temperance guides thee to chaste desires. Prudence will have thee do naught without forethought, Constancy naught without decision and firm purpose. The deadly vices which Tartarus sends up from his monstrous abyss fly far from thee; but first and foremost thou banishest Avarice, mother of crimes, greedy for more the more she possesses, searching ever open-mouthed for gold; with her thou drivest out her most foul nurse, Ambition, who watches at the gate of the powerful and haunts their dwelling-places, cherishing the sale of honours for gold. This age's more turbid stream of corruption has not drawn thee to follow its examples—corruption which had with lapse of time established crime and turned the custom of rapine into a law. Beneath thy rule the rich tremble not for the safety of ancestral lands or houses; no informer stalks the world set on making no matter whom his victim. Virtue suffers no eclipse by poverty. Thou exaltest men of all countries, asking what are their merits not their place of birth, what their character not their origin. A generous prince takes note of our life; rewards allure into the ways of virtue. Hence it comes that the arts of old flourish once more; the path to fortune is open to genius, while poesy again raises her despised head. Rich and poor strive with equal zeal towards their ends, for both see that, as poverty cannot depress merit, so riches cannot elevate incapacity.⁵⁸

et Olybrio Consulibus, de Consulatu Stilichonis (3 bks.), *de Bello Gildonico, de Bello Gothico*, and especially (for the tyrant) *in Rufinum* (2 bks.), and *in Eutropium* (2 bks.). Occasional references have been made from other poems; the date of this material is 395-403.

⁵⁷ *Pan. Theod.* 135-158.

⁵⁸ *De Con. Stil.* II, 100-131; the translation is that of Platnauer. The qualities of Stilicho are so often stressed that it may not be inconvenient to have them noted together here; implicitly, if not always explicitly, Claudian means these references not only as praise of his good patron

But the most elaborately drawn picture is that of Honorius which fills 200 lines. Theodosius, addressing his son Honorius, points out the qualities needed in a Roman emperor: birth is enough for dominion in the East, but not so for rule over the Roman people, "virtute decet, non sanguine niti"; the prince must first learn to know himself, control his anger and passions, for otherwise he will always be a slave to himself—"servitii patiere iugum, tolerabis iniquas / interius leges"; the prince leads a public life and his example is widely known; the love of the common people is the best bodyguard ("qui terret, plus ipse timet"); "he should deport himself as a citizen and a father, with a thought only for all, not for himself; moved by no personal desires, but only those of the state"; and obey his own laws, for the crowd always follows the pattern of the prince.⁵⁹ He should also be a good military leader in times of war.⁶⁰ At this point the young Honorius (10 years old) interrupts with protestations of earnest faith to his cause, whereupon Theodosius continues with advice on early training in the

but as the typical qualities which Stilicho has and which others so sadly lack: *de III Con. Hon.* 142-162, praise of S. by Theodosius for his generalship; *Epithal. Hon. et Mariae* 313-324, praise of S. for his civil accomplishments; *de Con. Stil.* I. 14-24, his good deeds in peace and war; *ibid.* 35-50, his goodness and genuineness from early youth; *ibid.* II. 6-62, his clemency, justice, love, good faith; *ibid.* II. 131-172, his freedom from all evils and vices; *ibid.* II. 106-129, he has pointed the way to new nobility: "nunquam libertas gratior extat / quam sub rege pio (114-115)"; *ibid.* II. 223-225, he is generous; *ibid.* II. 331, he is incorruptible by bribery; *de B. Goth.* 36-43, S. restored peace and justice, etc.; 111-123, S.'s care, moderation, planning, and persistence in adversity; *de B. Gil.* 301-308, praise of S. as saviour: "hunc solum memorem solumque fidelem / experior (305)"; *in Ruf.* I. 260-266, the good qualities of S.; *ibid.* II, pref. 13-20, S.'s place in peace and the arts instead of war; *in Eutrop.* II. 501-515, S. the saviour again; *de VI. Con. Hon.* 436-440, S.'s general efficiency to emperor and state.

⁵⁹ This line, "mobile mutatur semper cum principe vulgus", was frequently used by the medieval writers; e.g., by Giraldus Cambrensis, *de Principis Instructione* I. 20.

⁶⁰ Lines 320-351 are devoted to advice on military training and tactics; the whole tenor is interesting when we realize that this passage was written in 398, which makes it roughly contemporaneous with the *Epitoma Rei Militaris* of Fl. Vegetius Renatus, a patriotic effort to secure a return to the old-fashioned, well-drilled Roman army. Cf. also *in Eutrop.* II. 409-431 on the degenerate army.

arts, and in history so that the young prince may have a store-house of precept and example upon which to draw.⁶¹

Now that we have Claudian's key-points in hand we may summarize his other comments without regard to the person or persons concerned. The ideal ruler should not be proud and haughty, but modest and friendly with his people;⁶² if born a prince he should live a life worthy of that good fortune, working hard to perfect himself;⁶³ and, remembering that virtue is its own reward, he should strive to lead a clean life, mild toward the commoners, devoted to the arts and learning.⁶⁴ Among his many requisite qualities, in addition to those already mentioned, are justice, calmness, fairness, self-control, humbleness, eloquence, temperance in food and drink, wisdom, generosity, soundness of mind in a sound body, purity of morals, affability of manner, devotion to the state, respect for the Senate, appropriateness of dress to his station and office without gaudiness, for if the ruler possesses these qualities his people will love and support him.⁶⁵ Theodosius is a good example of whom it is said:

*digna legi virtus, ultro se purpura supplex
obtulit et solus meruit regnare rogatus.*⁶⁶

It is not surprising that we should find in Claudian ample specimens of the typical material on the joys of peace as opposed to the vicissitudes of war; surely he had abundance enough of material upon which to draw. In the last lines of the first book *Against Rufinus* the new era under Honorius is praised.

Then will the land be common property, no boundaries will mark private fields, no furrow will be cut with the hooked plow-share, the harvester will rejoice in grain free-grown; the oaks will drip with honey, pools of wine and lakes of olive-oil will pour out; no value will be sought for purple-dyed wool, but the flocks—to the utter confusion of

⁶¹ Based upon *de IV Con. Hon.* 212-351, 352-368 (Honorius' remarks), 369-418. These sections are identical with many in the various *specula principum*.

⁶² *De VI Con. Hon.* 53-64.

⁶³ *De III Con. Hon.* 13-14, 39-50, 83-87, 178-188.

⁶⁴ *Pan. Theod.* 1, 16-32, 61-112.

⁶⁵ *Pan. Theod.* 198-247; *Pan. Prob. et Olyb.* 39-54, 150-155; *Fesc. de Nup. Hon.* 1, 4, 5; *Epithal. Hon. et Mariae* 23-34; *de IV Con. Hon.* 24-40, 41-69, 111-121, 503-610.

⁶⁶ *De IV Con. Hon.* 47-48.

their shepherd—shall of themselves grow purple, and through all the deeps will the green seaweed sparkle with native gems.⁶⁷

Much the same is said of Probinus and his boons to society.⁶⁸ And throughout his poems Claudian's heroes are praised for their peaceful pursuits (if they are allowed by circumstances to have any) as well as for their military powers.⁶⁹ Not the least worthy policy is that of selecting capable and honorable magistrates for civil duties; the effect on general business and the daily life of the individual is marked.⁷⁰ "As you chose men brave in war and ready in heart, so in peace you chose men who were just. . . . We are ruled by men we know, and we enjoy the blessings of peace by the spoils of war."⁷¹

In the midst of his discussions for the good of the state Claudian frequently refers to the much used figure of the ship of state (often by implication), which is such a commonplace in the *specula*. One of the most forceful of these passages is in the Gothic War in which Stilicho exhorts his fellow-citizens to rally to the cause of Rome against the invasions of the Getae.

Of no avail to the laboring vessel are the wails of the sailors, for neither waves nor blasts of storm will grow calm at the idle lament and empty prayers. Now it becomes us to bend our hands and strive with all our might for the common good: work with sails, pump the ship, fit the rigging—and obey all the orders of the skilled master.⁷²

For the usual picture of the tyrant which is found in most *specula principum* ample material is furnished Claudian by Eutropius, Gildo and Rufinus. The rise in power of one who should never have it is always a bad thing: "asperius nihil est humili cum surgit in altum".⁷³ All vices are established in the tyrant's person, and hence under his rule; he is sure to be greedy, perjurious, wrathful, murderous, deceitful, cruel, lawless,

⁶⁷ *In Ruf.* I. 380-387.

⁶⁸ *Pan. Prob. et Olyb.* 166-173.

⁶⁹ Cf. on this point *de B. Goth.* 36-43 (Stilicho); *de Con. Stil.* I. 14-24; *ibid.* II. 1-5, 284; *de IV Con. Hon.* 4-69 (on Theodosius); *in Ruf.* I, pref. 17-18.

⁷⁰ *De IV Con. Hon.* 488-503.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 488-492.

⁷² *De B. Goth.* 271-277; on this figure cf. also *Pan. Theod.* 42-60; *de IV Con. Hon.* 419-426; *in Eutrop.* I. 424-427.

⁷³ *In Eutrop.* I. 181; cf. also 142-144.

lustful, immoderate in tastes, surrounding himself by similar men, typifying in his very manner and dress his mode of life.⁷⁴

He is the prey to the most diverse vices: whatsoever his bottomless greed has stolen, a yet more insatiable profligacy squanders. He is the terror of the living, the heir of the dead, the violator of the unwed, and the foul corrupter of the marriage-bed. He is never quiet; when greed is sated, lust is rampant; day is a misery to the rich, night to the married. . . . No form of death but is known to this artist in crime. He investigates the properties of different poisons and serpent's livid venom and knows the deadly herbs unknown even to step-mothers. If any condemns what he sees by a look or sighs with too much freedom, at the very festal board out darts some henchman with drawn sword at a nod of his master. . . . The daily board is decked in infernal splendour, wet with slaughter, dreadful with fear of sword or suspected poison.⁷⁵

But death and eternal punishment come even to the tyrant, which is typically stated in the poem *Against Rufinus*.⁷⁶

The panegyrics antedating Claudian have already been mentioned; it remains to speak briefly of those roughly contemporary or later in date. About the year 325 Optatius Porphyrius, then in exile, wrote a series of some 20 short poems as a general encomium on the emperor Constantine and was successful in winning the emperor's favor and recall thereby. Nearly 100 years later the Spanish rhetorician Merobaudes composed a panegyric in honor of the third consulship of Aetius (446) of which 197 hexameters only have survived.⁷⁷ In the same century the famous bishop Sidonius Apollinaris wrote three panegyrics to his father-in-law Avitus who had usurped the throne at Toulouse in 455, to Majorianus who had vanquished Avitus, and to Anthemius the emperor, respectively, in 456, 458, 468. Early in the following century comes the poem addressed to Anastasius, the emperor of the East, by the grammarian Priscian at Constantinople in 512; and somewhat later are the various pieces, of a panegyric nature, by Venantius Fortunatus of Poitiers addressed to several native kings and nobles. But it is not until the advent of Fl. Cresconius Corippus

⁷⁴ Cf. *de B. Gil.* 145-147, 148-162, 163-200, 396-398; in *Ruf.* I. 97-115, 170-195, 220-256; *ibid.* II. 78-85; in *Eutrop.* 555-558, 584-585.

⁷⁵ *De B. Gil.* 162-181. The translation is Platnauer's.

⁷⁶ In *Ruf.* II. 440-453.

⁷⁷ The editor, F. Vollmer (*M. G. H., Auct. Antiq.* XIV, Berlin 1905), estimates that about 246 verses have been lost.

with his panegyrics in three books, totalling 1600 lines, addressed to Justinus Minor (565-578), that we find anything approaching the volume or the power of Claudian.

While most of the works just enumerated do not have any passages that genuinely belong to the *genre* of *specula principum*, they all have—usually by implication—some references to the good prince and his pertinent qualities, such as we so often found in Claudian.⁷⁸

The ideal prince must be pious, a good soldier, gentle and merciful, just, wise, faithful, calm, virtuous in private life, the avenger of wrongs, clean in mind and body, stable, earnestly striving to bring only peace and continued prosperity to his people.⁷⁹ "Virtue wins its own rewards and labor gains its own success".⁸⁰ All unite in requiring military prowess;⁸¹ we could hardly expect them to do otherwise. The prince must know and control himself before attempting to control others; for "he who is his own censor easily moderates others";⁸² he should have a thorough knowledge of the law of his land,⁸³ and do his utmost to institute and maintain good courts, to rebuild cities, open up new navigation projects, stimulate business, and help the farmers.⁸⁴ Under such a prince nothing can harm the state;⁸⁵ and the prince is himself rewarded manifold.⁸⁶ Through

⁷⁸ In the *Paneg. Mess.* and the *Laus Pis.*, of the first cent. B. C. and A. D. respectively, the recipients are told that ancestry without personal worth is an empty affair (*Pan. Mess.* 28-32; *Laus Pis.* 3, 8-11: "perit omnis in illo / gentis honor, cuius laus est in origine sola"); and are complimented in the usual fashion for their abilities (*Pan. Mess.* 45-81, 82-105, 106-117; *Laus Pis.* 25-99); and Piso is further praised for his composed manner, good faith, mind, spiritual qualities, generosity, morality and moderation (100-139). Statius' flattering poem of only 47 lines really says nothing; it is a paean of praise to the patron.

⁷⁹ Cf. Porphyry. II. 8, 19-28; Venant. Fortun. II. 6. 15-77, VI. 1a. 19-28, 2 *passim*, VII. 1. 22-32, 5. 15-42, 7 *passim*; Prisc. 41-57, 228-229; Sid. Apoll., *Pan. Maj.* 148-154.

⁸⁰ Merob., *Pan.* II. 47-48.

⁸¹ Porphyry. II. 19-28; Merob., *Pan.* II. 1-48; Sid. Apoll., *Pan. Anthem.* 283-287; *id.*, *Pan. Avit.* 191-294, 538-575; Prisc. 58-134; Venant. Fortun. VI. 1. 68-78.

⁸² Venant. Fortun. VI. 1. 93-96.

⁸³ Sid. Apoll., *Pan. Avit.* 312-315; Venant. Fortun. VII. 5. 15-42.

⁸⁴ Prisc. 180-203; cf. Sid. Apoll., *Pan. Avit.*, 452: *perit bellum, date rursus aratra*; and *ibid.*, 538-575, and *Pan. Maj.* 293-304.

⁸⁵ Venant. Fortun. VI. 1. 90. ⁸⁶ Sid. Apoll., *Pan. Avit.* 568-569.

the constructive program of a progressive prince saner feelings are restored to men, the kingdom itself is rendered more secure, confidence returns to all,⁸⁷ the ship of state⁸⁸ rides at peace. If in addition he surrounds himself with good courtiers, and renders thanks to God to whom he owes all, he is indeed a good prince.⁸⁹

The last citation from Priscian brings us in close relation to Corippus in whom the Christian element is very strong, and whom we have reserved for separate discussion because of his importance. The first part of his general preface is lacking, but the opening lines as it now stands impress upon the ruler the debt he owes to God: "God placed all dominions at your feet, conquered proud kings and made hostile bands to diminish".⁹⁰ This same indebtedness to divine assistance is plainly stated throughout the three books; e. g. where Justinus is urged to accept the rule devolving upon him at the death of his uncle:

The laws call for you, the courts call for you, you, the ornament of the imperial rule, the light and goodness (*virtus*). In you our well-being, in you all our hope rises again. We beg of you, yield to your people, succeed your uncle. Break the delay, take up the gifts of God, wield the scepter of your fathers, and take the name of Augustus which [before] was lacking;⁹¹

and the opening lines of the second book where he prays for divine guidance in the rule which he has just assumed;⁹² and again in that same book wherein his first act upon ascending the throne is that of acknowledgment to God of His gift:

God who rules over all things has given us this kingdom and crown of our fathers, and the Father of all things has placed on us the task of ruling that which He has created. We praise the work of the Creator and gaze in awe upon the King. We give our thanks and admit our debt.⁹³

One of the most interesting passages is that which Pietas addresses to Justinus urging him to accept the rule; it really is abstract theory, although explicitly the qualities mentioned for the ideal prince are those found in Justinus, thus proving that he is the right person for this honor. Here we learn that

⁸⁷ Prisc. 220-227, 139, 135-138.

⁸⁸ Sid. Apoll., *Pan. Anthem.* 14-17.

⁸⁹ Prisc. 229-254, 4-7.

⁹⁰ Pref., 1-3.

⁹¹ I. 148-153.

⁹² II. 1-46.

⁹³ II. 178-183.

the good ruler must be virtuous, strong, healthy, prudent, sound-thinking, vigilant, willing to do right, brave, serious, the protector of his people and his kingdom.⁹⁴ Hardly less interesting is Justinus' praise of his uncle. "The state and world have lost a father, not a master. What person with his kindly affection did he not uphold, nourish, advise, foster and love?"⁹⁵ Of course the prince should be pious,⁹⁶ just, for "the mind of a just man shines brighter than the sun",⁹⁷ generous,⁹⁸ god-fearing,⁹⁹ moderate in habits of food and drink,¹⁰⁰ always alert and ready for emergencies.¹⁰¹ He is the "vicar of God";¹⁰² he is subject to God for his acts, as his people are subject to him.¹⁰³ Who himself loves well will be loved:¹⁰⁴ he who strives for peace will have peace, and he who makes war will have war.¹⁰⁵

The "organic analogy" is effectively used by Justinus in his coronation speech,¹⁰⁶ in which he points out that God in his wisdom created the states of man in form like the physical body: the prince, with Sapientia as his consort and eyes, is the head, the senate "through whose plans and efforts the state has subdued peoples and conquered kingdoms", is the breast and arms.¹⁰⁷ His charge to the senate on its duties and methods of rule corresponds exactly to the sections in the *specula principum* on the theory of good government. That body must revere God,

⁹⁴ I. 51-65. In the short panegyric (51 lines) addressed to Anastasius, quaestor and magister, asking for the favor of the court, Corippus has worked out a not unpleasing figure in which Anastasius, "sancti pars magna senatus / conpositor morum iuris legumque sacerdos (I. 15-17)," is a spreading tree (under whose shade all find shelter) whose roots are nourished by an adjacent fountain, which, of course, is the emperor from whom all blessings flow. In lines 24-32 the qualities of Anastasius are set forth: the glory of the magistri, the honor of the nobles, the arbiter of the world, making laws and justice, the father of the poor, helpful, free from greed, a worthy assistant to the prince.

⁹⁵ I. 167-169. Justinus' comment is interesting: "And yet many wished to harm him who did no harm. The place of authority is not without envy" (170-171).

⁹⁶ I. 257-271.

⁹⁹ III. 360-366.

⁹⁷ II. 156.

¹⁰⁰ III. 105-110.

⁹⁸ II. 399-406; III. 349-352.

¹⁰¹ III. 138-144.

¹⁰² II. 425, 428: "Qui facit hoc, deus est; deus est in corde regentum: / ille est omnipotens, hic omnipotentis imago."

¹⁰³ IV. 321-325.

¹⁰⁵ III. 339-340; cf. 328-340.

¹⁰⁴ IV. 321-322.

¹⁰⁶ II. 184-274.

rule justly, be incorruptible, punish the offenders and reward the deserving, manage the public funds honestly; in short, be the mainstay of the commonwealth.¹⁰⁸ Of similar nature is the charge to the commonpeople, urging them to live morally, peaceably, without quarrel, refraining from theft or violence, justifying the efforts of the prince in their behalf.¹⁰⁹

CONCLUSION

From the discussion just finished several points are obvious. Considerably more of the material is in verse than in prose; over three-fourths of all the material is from the fourth century or later; whereas the earlier material is (as we should expect) from Italy, the later is predominantly from Gaul, although Africa claims some attention;¹¹⁰ the majority of the addressees are of the western empire as are the writers in most cases. The almost spontaneous growth of this *genre* in the fourth century is clearly due to the flourishing schools of rhetoric in Africa and especially in Gaul, and to an even greater degree to the oriental influences at work on western civilization from the time

¹⁰⁷ II. 190-205.

¹⁰⁸ II. 206-274. This passage would repay reading in detail.

¹⁰⁹ II. 331-356.

¹¹⁰ The appended chronologico-geographical conspectus may not be without interest; the titles indented are in verse; an asterisk marks the Christian writers.

Pan. Mess.	: Italy	s. 1 B. C.
Laus Pis.	: Italy	s. 1 A. D.
Pliny	: Italy	s. 1-2
Statius	: Italy	s. 1-2
Fronto	: Italy	s. 2
Paneg. Latini	: Gaul	s. 3-4
*Ausonius	: Gaul	s. 4
Symmachus	: Italy-Gaul	
Optatius Porphyrius	: ?Africa	
Claudian	: Africa	
*Merobaudes	: Spain	s. 5
*Sidonius Apollinaris	: Gaul	
Priscian	: Africa (Constantinople)	s. 6
*Venantius Fortunatus	: Italy-Gaul	
*Ennodius	: Gaul	
*Cassiodorus	: Italy	
*Corippus	: Africa	

of Diocletian on with the removal of the imperial court from Rome, the seclusion of the person of the emperor, the mystical eastern glamor of god-like perfection centering in the ruler, and the direct contact with contemporary Greek writers and writings.¹¹¹

In the fourth century the emperor Julian himself composed several panegyrics, in Greek as were all his writings, to his cousin Constantius and others, and in the same century the rhetoricians Libanios and Themistios wrote letters and miscellaneous pieces of a political nature. Synesios, Bishop of Ptolemais, while on an embassy to Arcadius at Constantinople read to him an essay *On Kingship* in 399, and in 527 Agapetus the Deacon dedicated a little book called *de Officiis Regis* to Justinian. Beyond the general influences of the period just noted, there seems to have been no specific influence or encouragement under any one emperor; the *Zeitgeist* is alone responsible.¹¹²

While the desire to eulogize is the motivating spirit in all these works, we cannot be at all certain, in the face of the parallel *genre* of the *specula principum* continuous throughout these centuries and many others, that at least the more able and public-spirited writers did not have a double purpose. As the great humanist Erasmus said just ten centuries later in defense of his own panegyric to prince Philip of Burgundy in 1504, "no other way of correcting a prince is so efficacious as presenting, in the guise of flattery, the pattern of a really good prince. Thus do you instil virtues and remove faults in such a manner that you seem to urge the prince to the former and restrain him from the latter."¹¹³

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¹¹¹ It is interesting that we can also parallel the much earlier panegyric of Pliny to Trajan by the four books *On Kingship* (about 100 pages) of Dio Chrysostom which were dedicated to the same emperor.

¹¹² Schanz, *Roemische Literaturgeschichte*, III (Munich 1922), p. 152 has a clear statement: "Nicht diese Schriftsteller sind in erster Linie die Schuldigen, sondern die, welche sich solches Lob bieten lassen. Der Herr findet immer seine Knechte."

¹¹³ Allen, *Opus Epistularum Erasmi*, Oxford 1906-, Ep. 179, 42-45; cf. also Ep. 180, 33-44 and *passim*.

PRESUPPOSITIONS OF ARISTOTLE'S *METAPHYSICS*.

[A list of the assertions in Aristotle's *Metaphysics* which stand as unproved premises. Only those presuppositions which lie without the field of logic are discussed. They are classified roughly as "metaphysical," "epistemological," "evaluative."]

To understand a philosopher is not merely to understand what he says but to know why he says it. This is particularly true in the case of the ancients. Their ideas are likely to seem absurd or unfounded and their exegesis is almost inevitably anachronistic unless we know two things about them: first, what modes of thinking determined their reasoning, by forming their basic metaphors; second, what propositions seemed self-evident to them. It is with a view to clarifying certain of the fundamental assertions of Aristotle that this paper is written.

It should be stated at once that we are only concerned with the *Metaphysics*, for reasons which need not be elaborated. We are also studying simply those fundamental assertions which lie outside the traditional field of logic. That is, we are not concerned with the so-called "laws of thought." They are of cardinal importance in determining his theories but require special treatment. Finally no claim to finality is made here: we may not have succeeded in unearthing every important premise of the *Metaphysics*, but the list is fairly complete.

A warning should be pronounced against interpreting the words "presupposition," "axiom," "assumption" as used in this paper too strictly. They are not employed here with that nicety which one has a right to expect in a philosophical paper. Some of the assertions which have been tagged indifferently with these labels might for certain purposes demand labels of greater distinction, but I am willing to leave the satisfaction of that demand to logicians. A greater degree of analysis would show that the assertions are not all independent; some are logically entailed in others. I have usually lifted the axiom bodily out of the context in which it appears and left it in the form in which it appears. The advantages of doing this will be obvious to the historian, if not to the logician.

I

The Metaphysical Presuppositions.

1. *The Empedoclean analysis of change, Metaphysics A, ch. 3, 4.*

This presupposition envisages in change (a) something which suffers the change (the patient) and (b) something which produces the change (the agent).

According to this theory of change, legalism or positivism, to use modern terms, is ruled out and the scientist explains not by simply noting the curve of a change and its direction, by tracing a natural history, but by correlating every change with an agent, which becomes in Aristotelian language the efficient cause.

2. The natural priority of the mover.

τὸ κινεῖν τοῦ κινουμένου φύσει πρότερόν ἐστι. *Metaph.* 1010 b 37, Γ, ch. 5.

This axiom is introduced to prove that there must be something prior to sensation, of which one has sensation. It is basic in Aristotle's refutation of phenomenalism. It has an obvious relationship to our first axiom in that it gives the efficient cause a natural priority over its patients. "Natural priority," Aristotle equates in *Metaphysics* 1018 b 10 (Δ, ch. 11) with "absolute" priority and speaks of things which are "nearer some beginning" in the various natural series, such as time, or movement. Thus natural priority does not mean temporal priority, for the prime mover, the ἀρχή, has natural priority and yet must not be earlier in the temporal series than what it moves. The axiom is in fact one of the premises which help establish the existence of a prime mover.¹

3. Equivalence of genesis with separation or combination.

τὰ μὲν συγκρίσει τὰ δὲ διακρίσει ἐξ ἀλλήλων γίνεται. *Metaph.* 988 b 32, A, ch. 8.

Aristotle is discussing in the section where this appears the weakness of his predecessors in positing one of the elements as ἀρχή. If the elements are simple, no one of them could arise out of the others, for such genesis is separation and combination, which obviously could occur only in compounds.

¹ B, ch. 4 should be studied in connection with this axiom. Especially 999 b 5 ff.

In the *De Generatione et Corruptione* 329 a 24, we see clearly that Aristotle believes the traditional elements to be compounds of the opposites *in potentia*, heat, cold, moistness, dryness. It is likely in fact that he envisaged qualitative change as the passage of floating qualities from one thing to another. Thus in discussing spontaneous production (*Metaph.* Z, ch. 9), he says that the heat in the movement of a masseur's hand makes heat in the body of the patient (1034 a 26).² It would appear that at least the opposites are atomic qualities, which are, because elementary, indestructible. This logically leads Aristotle to assert (*Metaph.* 1000 b 25, B, ch. 4) that to perish is to be resolved into the things from which a thing came into being. Consequently an absolutely simple thing would be eternal. Conversely, eternal things must be simple (*Metaph.* 1088 b 14, N, ch. 2). This is the logical reason why later thinkers who wish to prove that the soul is immortal will also try to prove its simplicity.³

4. *The finitude of change.*

οὔτε ἄπειρός ἐστιν οὐδεμία κίνησις ἀλλὰ πάσης ἔστι τέλος.
Metaph. 999 b 10, B, ch. 4.

The context here shows that Aristotle is thinking not only of change of place but of any change, a use of *κίνησις* which is not unusual. The "end," of course, is ambiguous, meaning not only the termination of the process but its goal. Hence we have in effect a reassertion of the teleological principle which is argued at length in the *Physics* (II 8). It is suggested by the first of our axioms, for once all change is believed to involve an agent as well as a patient, it will be believed that the agent is not operating blindly. At the same time Aristotle must account for accidents or frustration. Accordingly a fifth axiom is introduced.

5. *The possibility of unfulfilled potencies.*

τὸ δυνατόν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἐκείνως (i. e., ἐνεργείᾳ) πᾶν ἔχειν.
Metaph. 1003 a 2, B, ch. 6.

Aristotle believes so strongly in this that he uses it to prove

² Cf. his discussion of the reality of the changing in 1010 a 15, Γ, ch. 5.

³ Plato also used this reasoning in proving the immortality of the soul. *Phaedo* 78.

that, were the elements potential, it might be possible that nothing which is would exist.

This presupposition is one of the most important differences between Aristotle and the Platonists. Its denial is what produces the "principle of plenitude" (to use the phrase of Professor Lovejoy)⁴ whose importance in platonistic speculation is of the greatest. It is what saves Aristotle from approving of every eccentricity and idiosyncrasy, for though the recognition of the existence of something does not logically entail approving of it, the general practice of philosophers has been to model their system of values upon what they imagine to be the behaviour of the cosmos.

6. *The necessity of a substratum in generation from opposites.*

γίγνεται πάντα ἐξ ἐναντίων ὡς ὑποκειμένου τινός. *Metaph.*

1087 a 36, N, ch. 1.

Generation from opposites is qualitative change or alteration. But, as we have suggested above, alteration proceeds by the appearance or disappearance of floating qualities. Qualities must qualify something. The something which they qualify is the substratum. Therefore the first principle cannot be a quality. Aristotle thus is able to refute those of his predecessors who treat the contraries as first principles.

7. *The priority of the essential.*

οὐθὲν κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς πρότερον τῶν καθ' αὐτό. *Metaph.* 1065 b

2, K, ch. 8.

This appears in Aristotle's summary of E, ch. 3, 4, upon the accidental. It is used to prove there that, though chance and spontaneity are really causes of things, since they are accidental, intelligence (νοῦς) and nature (φύσις) are prior causes.⁵ This gives the philosopher as one of his first tasks the distinguishing of the accidental from the essential and a means of checking his conclusions about the ultimate causes of events.

8. *Cosmic good government.*

τὰ δὲ ὄντα οὐ βούλεται πολιτεύεσθαι κακῶς. *Metaph.* 1076 a

4, Λ, ch. 10.

What Aristotle means by good government is monarchy and

⁴ See his "Optimism and Romanticism," *Pub. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, Vol. XLII, No. 4, p. 930.

⁵ Cf. *Phys.* ii. 1989, 5-13.

he proves the unity of cosmic rule by this axiom. His optimism is of course general among philosophers. To call attention to its effect upon occidental thought would be perhaps foolish, for it is known to all. Yet its self-evidence does not seem so striking to us as it did to our fathers and we should be inclined either to admit the possibility of cosmic maladministration or to insist upon the irrelevancy of adjectives of value in such a field. Aristotle's optimism goes hand in hand with his teleology. The latter is saved by the former and the former is saved by his presupposition of the priority of the essential.

9. *The principle of parsimony.*

The principle of parsimony is not overtly stated in the *Metaphysics* but is used here and there. When, for instance, Aristotle in his summary of his predecessors comes to those who "posit the ideas as causes" (*Metaph.* 990 a 34, A, ch. 9) he uses this principle to refute them. The ideas, he maintains (*Metaph.* 991 a 9), contribute nothing to sensible things, either to their being known or to their being.⁶

The principle of parsimony is perhaps related to the axiom of cosmic good government, which means government by one cause.

II

Besides these nine metaphysical assumptions, or presuppositions, or axioms (the name given to them is unimportant), there is a second group which might be called "epistemological."

1. *The intelligibility of the world.*

This is, of course, fundamental throughout the *Metaphysics*. By "knowledge," in the context which interests us, Aristotle means (*Metaph.* 994 b 29) a knowledge of the causes. εἰδέναι οἰόμεθα ὅταν τὰ αἷτια γνωρίσωμεν. He uses this principle to prove that there cannot be an infinite number of kinds of causes, since if there were we could not know them. Aristotle here is not saying that were the causes infinite in kind, we could not know that they were infinite in kind. He simply asserts that their infinity would prevent complete knowledge of their effects. And in some fields, such as ethics and, in this book of the *Meta-*

⁶ This is repeated almost verbatim in M, ch. v.

physics (see ch. III, esp. 995 a 15), physics, complete accuracy (*ἀκριβολογία*) is impossible. Complete accuracy is found only where there is knowledge of universals, and in that case there is no matter. Aristotle, as every one knows, is worried about this and admits (*Metaph.* 1087 a 10, M, ch. 10) that it gives rise to metaphysical difficulties—the main difficulty being the separateness of form and matter. For if knowledge is knowledge of the causes, and one of the causes is the matter, then why should there be perfect knowledge only in that field in which no matter is present? ⁷

2. *The impossibility of knowledge of the changing.*

περί γε τὸ πάντη πάντως μεταβάλλον οὐκ ἐνδέχεται ἀληθεύειν.
Metaph. 1010 a 9, Γ, ch. 5.

Aristotle uses this principle in his refutation of sensationalism, and he attributes the scepticism of the sensationalists to their own acceptance of it. Its use clearly illustrates the fact that for Aristotle knowledge was "knowledge-about," not "knowledge-of." But such knowledge was fundamentally knowledge about the causes, as we have seen, and the flux of sensation could never lead us to that. By Axiom I 2, sensation is inarticulable in itself and simply an index of a substance about which there can be knowledge. But to reach the substance through the sensations is impossible. Aristotle here takes a point of view not only exactly opposite that of the phenomenalist but opposite that of the empirical scientist, if there be any, who would say that we could reach an infra-perceptual cause through a study of its perceptual effects. One might reach a knowledge of certain regularities in the data of observation but one could never reach matter or form or agent or essence. What Aristotle suggests as his own technique may now be stated.

3. *The epistemological priority of the changeless.*

δεῖ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν αἰεὶ κατὰ ταῦτὰ ἐχόντων καὶ μηδεμίαν μεταβολὴν
ποιουμένων τάληθες θηρεῖν. *Metaph.* 1063 a 13, K, ch. 6.

Aristotle, again attacking the sensationalists, points out that there are some things in nature which do not change, and that

⁷ There is a bare possibility that the universals have *ὕλη νοητή*. For the interpretation of this difficult concept, see Ross's edition of the *Metaph.*, Commentary (Vol. II, p. 199), on *Metaph.* 1036 a 9-10.

knowledge should begin with them rather than with the flux. He here distinguishes between the individual's total experience, which undeniably contains the flux, and knowledge which is over-individual and may—though Aristotle does not say this explicitly—explain the flux. Since the essence is revealed by the qualities—*ἡ οὐσία κατὰ τὸ ποῖόν*, *Metaph.* 1063 a 27—and not by the quantity, the flux is explicable insofar as it is a flux of qualities. These, once they have arisen, may disappear but their quality is eternal regardless of their duration.

This axiom not only is used as a guide in any specific science, but it would appear to be the reason for what has sometimes been called the abstractness, or *apriorism* of Aristotelian thought. It aids axiom II 2 in completely severing that mode of reflection from the procedure of laboratory science, as empiricists interpret laboratory science. It has now become a commonplace of the philosophy of science that a complete empiricism would amount to a blind fumbling of laboratory apparatus in which nothing could be learned since there would be nothing to study. Everyone probably admits as a minimum that experiments and observations are performed because of their supposed relevance to problems. Aristotle's peculiarity consists in maintaining that the changeless is not completely prior to experience but is discovered in experience. Hence the *a priori* for him is not prior to all knowledge, nor prior to all experience. It is simply prior to some part of knowledge, namely knowledge about changing things.

We see this clearly when he is discussing the truth of philosophy (*Metaph.* 993 b 24). Philosophy must be true because it deals with eternal things.⁸ Since the eternal things cause all the other things, truth about the eternal things contributes the truth to knowledge about the other things. But the eternal things are not "metempirical" though they are not perceptual.

4. *The epistemological priority of the form.*

λεκτέον τὸ εἶδος καὶ ἢ εἶδος ἔχει ἑκάστων, τὸ δ' ἰλικὸν οὐδέποτε καθ' αὐτὸ λεκτέον. *Metaph.* 1035 a 7, Z, ch. 10.

This means in practice that the purpose of a thing tells one

⁸ Aristotle does not explain how we could have complete knowledge of eternal things. We have discussed why this should be a problem under Axiom II 1.

more about it than the stuff of which it is made.⁹ Here again Aristotle's point of view is the opposite of that of the 19th-century science, not only because it is teleological but because it is anti-materialistic, in Aristotle's sense of "materialistic." The 19th century universalized the materialistic technique to the point of denying the explanatory efficacy of purpose even in human beings. It is certain that the experience of doing something for the sake of an end of which one is aware is a genuine experience. Some writers would maintain it to be also certain that below the psychological level, i. e. in physiology, biochemistry, and down, there is no evidence whatsoever of the same experience. It is granted for the sake of that argument that every bit of teleological behavior could be exhaustively analysed into elements no single one of which was aware of an end. But since the explanation of a type of event does not prove that event to be an illusion, the explanation (or analysis) of purpose by the non-purposive in no way entails the non-existence of purpose.

Aristotle reached his teleology by analogical argument. He picked the one feature which seemed common to all purposive behaviour, namely the movement towards an end, and finding arrivals at ends in the non-human world, immediately concluded that there was therefore purpose in the non-human world. One might think it more proper to conclude that therefore reaching an end was not the differentia of purposive action.

Aristotle simply could not assert that conclusion because he was convinced that the form of a thing was its "nature" and that in "natural"—as opposed to artificial—changes, things strove to be what they were. This to be sure sounds absurd and linguistically it is absurd. But it makes it possible for Aristotle to believe in events "contrary to nature," in monsters, in accidents, in perversions, in chance. We, who have chosen the materialistic point of view—perhaps it would be less disquieting to say the "hylistic" point of view—are struck dumb by these terms unless we substitute statistics for logic in dealing with nature. The statistician can interpret that which is "contrary to nature" as that which is unusual and even measure its un-

⁹ Cf. 1035 b 15 on the logical priority of the soul.

usualness. But the philosopher who confuses formal logic with empirical science—if there be any such—is helpless.

It should also be noted in this place that as the form (purpose) and essence were coincidental in natural change, so were the essence and the class-concept. Thus essences could be hierarchically arranged—as in the Tree of Porphyry—and the upper levels could be interpreted as both the pervasive essences and ends of the lower. In Neo-platonism, this mode of thinking became very important and a whole set of religious practices seemed to be entailed in “the way up” and “the way down.”¹⁰

This principle, moreover, clarifies the meaning of two other Aristotelian opinions which are ethical and psychological rather than epistemological, but which are used in the *Metaphysics*. The first is a definition, “a man is free who exists for his own sake, not for another’s,” ἀνθρωπος . . . ἐλεύθερος ὁ ἑαυτοῦ ἕνεκα καὶ μὴ ἄλλου ὄν, *Metaph.* 982 b 25, A, ch. 2, almost at the beginning of the treatise. This might be paraphrased to read, “Human freedom is the realization of humanity.”

The second of these opinions is psychological, and is the rationalistic interpretation of desire, ὁρεγόμεθα δὲ διότι δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ δοκεῖ διότι ὁρεγόμεθα, *Metaph.* 1072 a 29, A, ch. 7. Aristotle has enough common sense to know that we sometimes have irrational desires for evil, but in this passage he is discussing desire according to nature, and what we think of as an emotion is nothing more than the striving of things for their ends. That he should call this “desire” is consistent with his identification of form and purpose. For if we desire our ends, why should not the natural order? Had he been more sceptical, he might have been more worried about the “contrary to nature.” But since he was not, he could account for evil desires as desires contrary to nature.¹¹

III

What a man praises is often more interesting than what he describes. In occidental philosophy this is particularly true, for it has been a habit of philosophers to “ground,” as they

¹⁰ For traces of the hierarchy of Being in contemporaries of Aristotle, see *Metaph.* 1028 b 25, Z, ch. 2.

¹¹ For the identification of τὸ ὁρεκτόν and τὸ νοητόν as a physical principle, see Ross’s commentary on *Metaph.* 1072 a 26.

say, their theory of values upon their metaphysics. During the post-Kantian period, from which we have finally emerged, it was even the habit, one would imagine, to ground one's metaphysics upon one's theory of values. At any rate man as the darling of the cosmos has seldom been ridiculed and it seems to be taken for granted that it is the world's duty to insure his ends. I recall no instances where this type of argument has been used in regard to the other animals, except perhaps Buddhism.

Aristotle's *Metaphysics* gives us a number of axioms about value which not only clarify the Aristotelian theology but also the ethics and aesthetics.

1. *The evil of perversion.*

ἡ διαφθορά τῶν κακῶν ἐστίν. *Metaph.* 1051 a 21, ©, ch. 9.

This establishes the principle that what does not follow the rule is bad. The rule, however, though it may be detected statistically, is not the statistical norm. It is the "natural." Consequently perversion is *παρὰ φύσιν*. But in being contrary to nature, it is being contrary to the essence, or contrary to the form of something. This notion was of course older than Aristotle, for the argument about the relative merits of nature and something opposed to it in its various senses, learning, custom, art, is at least as old as Pindar. The identification of "nature" with the "essence" makes the principle one of metaphysical importance in Aristotle and weaves into the texture of the cosmos a pattern of value.

It should again be emphasized that this principle does not commit Aristotle to urging men to follow the crowd, in spite of the fact that the rule is detected statistically. He believes, of course, that the crowd may be mistaken. For, though unlikely, it is a possibility that a great number of people should suffer an accident which would prevent the realization of their forms.

2. *The perfection of the eternal.* *Metaph.* 1051 a 19, ©, ch. 9.

This would seem to follow from III 1. As a matter of fact, it is probably logically independent of it, although I make no pretense of a logical analysis of these "axioms." The eternal things cannot be imperfect—evil, defective, or perverse—for two reasons. (1) They are the standards of imperfection, by which

degrees of evil are measured. They are that of which imperfect things fall short. (2) Aristotle may have felt that since perversion is a failure to achieve one's form, perversion could only occur in time. An eternal thing by its very eternality could not participate in a temporal event. The former is the more important reason.

3. *The superiority of the prior.*

ἔτι ὅπου τὸ μὲν βέλτιον τὸ δὲ χεῖρον, ἀεὶ τὸ βέλτιον πρότερον.
Metaph. 999 a 13, B, ch. 3.

Here the prior is obviously not the temporally prior, since the individual potency may precede the actuality. Aristotle is thinking of the forms, which are eternal, in this passage the genera. Since the forms may be identified with genera, and since the genera may be hierarchically arranged, the universe may be made to illustrate a scale of values as well as of being. Aristotle, himself, makes very little of this, but the Neo-platonists, as everyone knows, will lose no opportunity to bring it into play. It is the presupposition which will lend plausibility to the medieval equation of the *ens realissimum* with the *ens perfectissimum*, and which will introduce the difficulties of pantheism into Christianity.

This principle now shows why Aristotle thought the world must not be governed badly (*v. I 8 supra*). For the government of the world is the attraction of the world to the first cause, and, had Aristotle been consistent, the first cause would have been simply the Form of the Cosmos. But, as we know, he was not consistent. He was prevented from being consistent by his doctrine of chance, for had the Prime Mover been simply the Form of the Cosmos, either there could be no chance, or there would be chance in the Form of the Cosmos, which in his mind would have been a contradiction in terms.

4. *The principle of primitivism.*

With all this emphasis upon the good's being logically but not temporally prior, one is surprised to find Aristotle maintaining that the oldest is the most to be honored. τιμιώτατον τὸ πρεσβύτατον, *Metaph.* 983 b 32, A, ch. 3. How seriously Aristotle took this, we have no way of knowing, and in a world like his, which was without beginning or end, age was not a prime con-

sideration. The opinion may be simply an intrusion of traditional ways of thinking into his writings, for he is discussing the supposititious views of Hesiod upon the origin of the world. It is undoubtedly something of a blemish and must prove disquieting to anti-primitivists who hope to count him among them.¹²

5. *The superiority of the terminal.*

τῶν ἐπιστημῶν τὴν αὐτῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ τοῦ εἰδέναι χάριν αἰρετὴν
οὔσαν μᾶλλον εἶναι σοφίαν ἢ τὴν τῶν ἀποβαινόντων ἔνεκεν.
Metaph. 982 a 14, A, ch. 2.

Aristotle is here discussing not the relative value of all things, but only of the sciences. Nevertheless, from what we know of the rest of his system we may not unfairly extend the principle beyond the field of knowledge. It is simply the assumption of the superiority of ends to instruments, which does not begin to show its importance until the hierarchical universe is outlined. When that picture is completed, the intellectual love of God becomes the greatest value in the universe.

6. *Anti-Romanticism.*

That there is a last step in the scale of ends appears in *Metaphysics* 994 a 8. We may call this the anti-romantic principle. It is self-evident to most people who are ignorant of human psychology. To those of an introspective turn of mind, it appears to be logically sound but contrary to fact. For it overlooks the psychological truth that human beings actually do evaluate instruments as ends and do find terminal value in practices which began by being instrumental. There may be ethical reasons against this but its existence cannot be denied. Indeed one of the first principles of aesthetics is that when an instrument loses its utility it takes on beauty—most (if not all) of our fine arts are obsolete instrumentalities, and many of the pleasures of

¹² See, for instance, Mr. Irving Babbitt's *On Being Creative*, which has as its motto, τὸ πρῶτον οὐ σπέρμα ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ τὸ τέλειον, *Metaph.* 1072 b 35. This was in some ways an unfortunate epigraph. Mr. Babbitt translates, "The first is not the seed but the perfect," which gives no clue to the fact that Aristotle is here discussing the temporal priority of living things and their seeds, and concludes that the hen comes before the egg. The finished product, that is, comes historically before the offspring, which might be an argument for chronological primitivism within any isolated strand of history.

life consist in performing practices which God and Nature intended to serve further ends as if they were ends in themselves, witness dining and love-making. This, as I say, does not weaken Aristotle's reasoning, but it may discredit his power of observation.

IV

This survey of the presuppositions of Aristotle's *Metaphysics* may explain to some extent the orientation of his reasoning. It should be apparent to anyone who ever stopped to reflect upon the course of thinking that, when it is more than random association, it will never reach any end unguided. The fertility of a deductive system never develops by itself. In plain language one has to know what one wants to prove before one can begin to reason. That is why it is particularly important to know what a philosopher takes for granted. This paper aspires to discover that information in one work of one philosopher.

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NOTES ON LUCAN.

SECOND GROUP.¹

1.

i. 526 ff.

- Ignota obscurae viderunt sidera noctes
Ardentemque polum flammis caeloque volantes
Obliquas per inane faces crinemque timendi
Sideris et terris mutantem regna cometen.
530 Fulgura fallaci micuerunt crebra sereno,
Et varias ignis tenso dedit aere formas;
Nunc iaculum longo, nunc sparso lumine lampas
Emicuit caelo. Tacitum sine nubibus ullis
Fulmen et arctois rapiens de partibus ignem
535 Percussit Latiare caput, stellaeque minores
Per vacuum solitae noctis decurrere tempus
In medium venere diem.

This passage lists some of the portents in the heavens at the outbreak of the civil war. In line 531 the variant readings *tenso . . . aere* and *denso . . . aere* have been made the subject of rather extensive discussion.

The situation is complicated in the extreme. In the first place, confusion between forms of *tensus* and *densus* in the manuscripts would appear to have been easy, if we may judge from other occurrences in the text of Lucan.²

Second, there are passages in Seneca's *Naturales Quaestiones* which Lucan may well have had in mind at this point. But direct connection with Seneca's treatise is uncertain; and, granting the connection, there is room for difference of opinion as to the particular passage or passages exerting influence here.

Third, the relation of line 531 to its context is problematical. The passage as a whole may be made up of items thrown together without any strict system; or line 531 may have a close connection with what precedes; or, as others think, 531 finds exegesis in the two lines which immediately follow it.

In the face of such uncertainties, it seems rather hazardous to take any liberty with the wording of 531, where *tenso . . . aere* is strongly supported by the text tradition. It is also in favor of this reading that it is "more difficult" than the commonplace

¹ See Vol. LII, 49 ff.

² iv. 73, v. 714.

denso . . . *aere*, and hence more likely to have been tampered with than vice versa.

It may be, too, that the choice of verb in 531 (*dedit* . . . *formas*) has some bearing in this connection. It suggests at any rate that Lucan may have meant to say that fire gave various forms to the *aer*, in other words, that as the *aer* merged into fire, various manifestations were observed.³

It is true that the text reads *aere* and not *aeri*; but Lucan and other poets were quite ready to sacrifice an unmetrical dative in favor of the ablative, e. g.

Juvenal, i. 69 ff.

Occurrit matrona potens, quae molle Calenum
Porrectura viro miscet sitiente rubetam.

With *Porrectura* a dative naturally is expected; and the reader so understands *viro* until he reaches *sitiente*, which is called for by the meter. The "ablative absolute"⁴ is not as exact as the dative would have been, but it serves the poet's purpose well enough.⁵ So again:

Lucan, ix. 315

Et nunc pontus adhuc Phoebo siccante repugnat

This refers to the Syrtes, which are part land and part water. The latter element tries to hold its own against the effect of the sun's action; with *repugnat* the dative would be the normal construction, but metrical considerations demand *siccante*.

If in the passage under discussion *dedit* calls for a dative which in like manner is displaced by the ablative,⁶ the substi-

³ See the comment of J. S. Reid on the meaning of *tenso*, which is cited by Heitland in the *Classical Review* 15 (1901), 80. There is a rejoinder by Housman (*ibid.* 130), who holds for the reading *denso*.

In this connection it is well to remember that Lucan is often far from critical in matters historical and geographical. Probably in natural science he was no more precise. It may be counted certain that he would not carefully weigh all possible interpretations of the sources of information before venturing to write *tenso*.

⁴ On the adequacy of this name see "The Ablative Absolute and the Stenographic Ablative," University of California Publications in Classical Philology, 10, 203 ff.

⁵ On this point see further, same series 11, 256 ff.

⁶ It should be noted that *aeri* is a form that does not readily work in at any point in a hexameter line.

tution would be easier with the reading *tenso* than with *denso*; for the more pronounced participial character of the former makes *tenso* . . . *aere* a better "ablative absolute" than *denso* . . . *aere* would be.

2.

ii. 198 ff.

Tot simul infesto iuvenes occumbere leto
Saepe fames pelagique furor subitaeque ruinae
Aut terrae caelique lues aut bellica clades,
Numquam poena fuit.

Thus Lucan comments on the wholesale massacre perpetrated by Sulla at Rome. In point of structure the sentence is very defective, though the general meaning is clear enough, namely, that major catastrophes on land or sea or in warfare had often taken a like terrible toll of life, but that a massacre of such proportions had never been ordered.

The opening phrases of the passage seem to lack an expression of causing or effecting, and some of the paraphrases inject such an idea and carry it through to the end. So Weise: "*Saepe fames* aut aliud publicum malum aut bellum aliquod similes clades attulerat, numquam punitio." Likewise Duff: "The violent death of so many strong men at once has often been caused by famine, or stormy seas, or sudden crash of buildings . . . , but never before by execution."

The earlier commentators felt strongly the difficulty of the passage, and some attempts at emendation were made. To van Jever it seemed that *Saepe* (199) might be spared, and he conjectured *Culpa* to fill that space.⁷ On that basis, the passage would read as follows:

Tot simul infesto iuvenes occumbere leto
Culpa fames pelagique furor subitaeque ruinae
Aut terrae caelique lues aut bellica clades,
Numquam poena fuit.

This would rectify the grammatical structure of the sentence. But the evolution of *saepe* out of *culpa* as outlined by van Jever is rather complicated; and the effective balance of *saepe* and *numquam* (201) makes it plausible that *saepe* was written by the poet.

⁷ He mentions also *Causa* as a possibility, but regards *Culpa* as more poetic.

The problem was approached from a different angle by Burman, who with some hesitation proposed that *fuit* (201) perhaps should be emended to *dedit*. This, too, would help the situation much; but, again, it is not easy to explain a corruption of *dedit* to *fuit*.

Of late, interest in the passage seems to have waned. Hosius apparently is satisfied to allow the text to stand as it is; at any rate he does not notice the attempts at emendation; and Housman passes the lines without comment.

However, some feel so harsh a zeugma in *fuit* (201), and the sentence halts to such a degree, that some further attempt perhaps should be made to ease the situation.

Question therefore is raised whether *fuit* might not be a corruption of *tulit*. This would involve a minimum of change, and *tulit* yields a very fair sense. Compare the use of this verb in the following:

iv. 243 ff.

Itur in omne nefas, et quae fortuna deorum
Invidia caeca bellorum nocte *tulisset*,
Fecit monstra fides: inter mensasque torosque,
Quae modo complexu foverunt, pectora caedunt.

After fraternizing with Caesar's troops, the Pompeians, at the order of Petreius, proceed to murder the Caesarians who were visiting their camp. The force of *tulisset* is well brought out in Duff's rendering: "and horrors, which, to the discredit of the gods, Fortune *might have brought about* in the blind obscurity of battle, are wrought by loyal obedience."

If *tulit* were to be read in the passage at the head of the present note, it would have this general sense, the infinitive construction serving as object:

Tot simul infesto iuvenes occumbere leto
Saepe fames pelagique furor subitaeque ruinae
Aut terrae caelique lues aut bellica clades,
Numquam poena tulit.

3.

iii. 592 ff.

Dirigit huc puppim miseri quoque dextra Telonis,
Qua nullam melius pelago turbante carinae
Audivere manum, nec lux est notior ulli
Crastina; seu Phoebum videat seu cornua lunae,
Semper venturis componere carbasa ventis.

There is some doubt as to the syntax of the infinitive *componere* in the last verse here cited.

A few of the commentators have suspected that *Semper* replaces an adjective that would govern the infinitive, e. g., *certus* or *sollers*.⁸ Such corruption of the text would not be easy to explain; and these suggestions have been received with little favor.

The usually accepted theory is that from the preceding lines a general idea of ability carries over, and it is to this that the infinitive attaches. Thus Oudendorp comments: "*Componere* valet ad componendum," and Weise explains: "Ut infinitivum quare positus sit perspicias, cogita praecedentibus haec subesse: *et quo nemo callidior fuit, ex coniectura futurae lucis semper ventis venturis carbasa componere, h. e. vela aptare.*"⁹

If this is the correct explanation, it must be confessed that Lucan is writing here in a very loose and obscure fashion.

It is suggested that with punctuation stronger than a comma after *Crastina* (595) a rather good case could be made out for *componere* as one of Lucan's occasional historical infinitives,¹⁰ the meaning being that whether Telo viewed the sun or the horns of the moon, he would infallibly adjust the sails to the winds that were coming.¹¹

As a matter of fact, there is a striking resemblance between this passage and the one in which the poet uses the historical infinitive in characterizing Caesar:

⁸ See van Jever and Burman *ad loc.* Cf. Bentley (*sollers*).

⁹ Cf. Haskins and Housman *ad loc.*, and also the translations of Duff and Bourgerie.

¹⁰ Examination of the commentary shows that this idea is anticipated by Cortius (as reported by Weber); but his comment seems to have been overlooked or disregarded.

¹¹ It is not fully clear what nautical procedure is referred to in the phrase *componere carbasa*. The interpretation above accords with the general understanding of the words, which Duff renders: "to set his sails to the coming winds."

Possibly, however, the reference is to "making everything snug" in anticipation of a coming "blow." So of putting things in order at the end of a voyage, Plautus, *Merc.* 192: "Armamentis complicandis componendis studuimus." With this meaning, an ablative interpretation of *venturis . . . ventis* would accord with Lucan's usage elsewhere.

i. 146 ff.

Acer et indomitus; quo spes quoque ira vocasset,
Ferre manum et numquam temerando *parcere* ferro,
 Successus *urguere* suos, *instare* favori
 Numinis.

It may be noted further, that with the punctuation and interpretation proposed for the passage on which this note is based, the likeness between the two descriptions extends to the fact that the infinitive clause in each serves as a sort of expansion or exegesis of the phrase immediately preceding it.¹²

4.

iv. 811 ff.

At tibi nos, quando non proderit ista silere,
 A quibus omne aevi senium sua fama repellit,
 Digna damus, iuvenis, merita^e praeconia vitae.

Thus Lucan expresses himself as he rounds off the account of the disastrous campaign in Africa, in the closing action of which Curio lost his life. Though the poet is no great admirer of Curio, still he admits that his fame is secure, and that nothing will be gained by withholding here a suitable encomium. This is appended in verses 814-824.

The exact meaning of the last line cited above is not easy to determine. Some seem to find in *merita^e* a sort of echo of the opening word *Digna*. So Bourgery translates: "le digne hommage qu'a mérité ta vie"; and Haskins renders: "such a panegyric as thy life deserves."

Thinking that Lucan would be unwilling to praise all of Curio's life, Bentley proposed to emend *merita^e . . . vitae* to *primae . . . vitae*, which would exclude the years in which Curio's actions were most reprehensible. Perhaps this idea underlies Duff's translation of the received text: "we award a due meed of praise to the praiseworthy part of his life."

But, as Francken observes,¹³ this point of view does not seem to accord well with the general thought of the passage; for the antithesis in the poet's mind appears to be not so much between

¹² Francken comments: "Infinitivus est epexegeticus," but seems to apply the term in a very loose way. See his note *ad loc.*

¹³ In his note *ad loc.*

periods of time as between the great genius of Curio and the influences that perverted it (see lines 814-824).

The situation would be much simplified if we should regard *meritae* as a poetic use of the simplex for *emeritae*. So understood, the meaning is: "I insert here a proper tribute to your life now brought to its close."¹⁴ The expression *vita emerita*, of course, would be in line with *stipendia emerita*, *militia emerita*, etc.¹⁵

5.

vi. 196 ff.

Quid nunc, vesani, iaculis levibusque sagittis
 Perditis haesuros numquam vitalibus ictus?
 Hunc aut tortilibus vibrata phalarica nervis
 Obruat aut vasti muralia pondera saxi;
 200 Hunc aries ferro ballistaeque limite torta
 Promoveat. Stat non fragilis pro Caesare murus
 Pompeiumque tenet.

These lines have to do with the miraculous resistance which Scaeva made single-handed at the time when Pompey tried to break out through the line of fortifications with which Caesar had surrounded him near Dyrrachium. The Pompeians are sarcastically criticised for attempting to overcome such a hero by the use of ordinary weapons.

The problem of the passage lies in verse 200, where from time immemorial the editors have accepted at the end the reading *limine portae*, which would be a separative expression with *Promoveat* (201), the idea being that Scaeva is to be dislodged from the threshold of the gate.

With this reading and interpretation there are two serious difficulties. In the first place, Scaeva was not standing at the threshold of a gate. It is stated explicitly that he fought from the rampart until the dead were piled up high before it, and that then he leaped far over the bodies and met the enemy on the level beyond (180 ff.), stubbornly holding his own there

¹⁴ Cf. the note of completion in the simplex in Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 36. 4: *missionem dari vicena stipendia meritis*.

¹⁵ An example with *stipendia* in a metaphorical sense is found in Cicero, *Cato M.* 49: *Tamquam emeritis stipendiis libidinis*, etc.

against them. Because of this inconsistency, Hosius breaks with the tradition and adopts the variant *limite torta* as cited above.¹⁶

The other point of difficulty is that the reading *limine portae* precludes any satisfactory handling of *ferro* earlier in the line. To save this situation, some have proposed emendation as a means of getting rid of *ferro*; so Heinsius conjectured *turri*, and Schrader *vallo*,—which would make provision for dislodging Scaeva from positions which he did *not* occupy.¹⁷

In view of these circumstances, it is interesting that Housman holds to the conventional reading *limine portae* and retains *ferro*, doubtless because of the strong manuscript support for these expressions.

Manifestly, he too would like to get rid of *ferro*; not only does he mention the conjecture of Schrader (*vallo*), but he also introduces the comment: "*sed ferro aptum non est, quoniam iacula quoque et sagittae ferrum habebant.*" This, of course, is quite beside the point; for in lines 196 ff. the Pompeians are criticised for using *light* weapons against Scaeva (*iaculis levibusque sagittis*), whereas a *heavy* battering-ram with head of iron¹⁸ is quite in place among the siege-engines enumerated in the text at this point.

His argument against *torta* at the end of the line is hardly more cogent. He says that the use of this word would be in poor taste so soon after *tortilibus* (198). But in Lucan such a collocation would not be noteworthy.¹⁹

¹⁶ See Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik, Nr. 147 (1893), 345. Burman retains the conventional reading and makes a half-hearted attempt to gloss over the inconsistency (he might have found some support for his argument in x. 545 ff.), and Cortius (as cited by Weber) essays the same task with more enthusiasm and confidence. Bourguery and Ponchont follow Hosius.

¹⁷ The sponsors of these emendations perhaps would reply that they were thinking of the removal of Scaevola from *any* position and not from the place he actually occupied at this point in the action. A further emendation of *ballistae* to *ballistave* would be in harmony with this idea.

¹⁸ Cf. here Samse, Interpretationes Lucanae, Göttingen, 1905, p. 35. Duff (who translates Housman's text) ventures: "iron battering-ram," perhaps having in mind a gloss quoted by Oudendorp: "*aries ferro pro de ferro factus*," a view which seems to have found little favor.

¹⁹ Note what Housman himself says on p. xxxiii of his preface concerning repetitions in Lucan, and compare such a sequence as *micuerunt . . . emicuit* (i. 530-533), which he does not question.

Though inferior in point of manuscript support, the reading *limite torta* not only harmonizes with *ferro*, but it is otherwise superior in sense. It is said that Scaeva stands as a wall²⁰ for Caesar; and *ballista* . . . *limite torta* rounds out the description of the means that would be required to dislodge him from his position—*phalarica*, *muralia saxa*, *aries* (with its iron head), and *ballista* (with projectile discharged from an elevated position).²¹

It may be noted also that if *limite torta* was the original reading, it is not hard to understand how it might have been changed to *limine portae*, which is a favorite verse-ending with the poets generally;²² but it is not so easy to see how the reverse change would come about.²³

6.

vii. 320 ff.

Sed dum tela micant, non vos pietatis imago
Ulla nec adversa conspecti fronte parentes
Commoveant; vultus gladio turbate verendos.
Sive quis infesto cognata in pectora ferro
Ibit, seu nullum violarit vulnere pignus,

325 Ignoti iugulum tamquam scelus inputet hostis.

These verses are part of a speech ascribed to Caesar as he was about to lead his troops out to the battle of Pharsalus. Line 325 has been variously understood.

Postgate holds that verses 323-324 should be attached to what precedes.²⁴ The generally accepted punctuation is used above,

²⁰ *muris* (201). There seems some confusion here in the remarks of Hosius (*l. c.*) on the reading *limite*, which is a quite different matter. Samse (*l. c.*) notes this infelicity.

²¹ The poet's idea may be that the projectile would strike with greater force in a downward flight from an elevated position. To secure a more exact balance at this point, Oudendorp suggests reading *verbere* or *turbine* in place of *limite*.

²² Hosius (*l. c.*) mentions four examples: Vergil, *Aen.* ii. 242; Valerius Flaccus, vii. 382; Statius, *Theb.* xi. 339; xii. 558.

²³ It perhaps slightly supports the reading *torta* that Statius (*Theb.* ix. 145 ff.) uses the phrase *impacta* . . . *tormenta* in a similar passage in which he claims ineffectiveness of siege-engines against another hero.

²⁴ See his edition of Book VII, *ad loc.*

making 323-324 the protasis of 325. On this arrangement Housman makes the comment that 325 is properly the apodosis only of 324, it being left to the reader to "supply" a corresponding conclusion for 323. Hence he paraphrases: "If you strike a kinsman, count the crime a distinguished service; if one is no kinsman, count the deed a service no less distinguished than if it were a crime like the other."²⁵

In point of syntax such analysis is perhaps lawful; but on other grounds the interpretation is not very convincing, partly because it involves a very tame anticlimax. Caesar is here represented as trying to key up his soldiers to the sacrilege of slaying their relatives, and it would defeat his own end to add that the killing of any unknown enemy would do as well.

It may be worth while to compare what Caesar himself says of his address to the soldiers at the time here in question:

B. C. iii. 85. 4: Tunc Caesar apud suos, cum iam esset agmen in portis: "Differendum est," inquit, "iter in praesentia nobis et de proelio cogitandum, sicut semper depoposcimus. Animo sumus ad dimicandum parati; non facile occasionem postea reperiemus"; confestimque expeditas copias educit.

The haste here implied (which would be quite natural to the occasion) makes any long address to the soldiers quite out of keeping. The speech which Lucan devises is eighty lines long, and it evidently is a rhetorical study. At the same time, its agreement in some particulars with the account of Appian²⁶ renders it probable that there was a tradition of an address of Caesar's before Pharsalus more elaborate than his own account indicates.

Appian states that Caesar directed his soldiers to enter the battle with attention directed exclusively to the Roman foemen in Pompey's army, disregarding the foreign allies for the time being. Lucan says that the Caesarians were to press the fight as long as the enemy resisted (320), and that up to that point they were to concentrate upon their relatives in the opposing ranks. According to the tradition as reflected in Appian, verse 325 should refer to disregarding the "stranger foe" in the other army.

²⁵ *Classical Review*, 15 (1901), 405. The general idea here underlying was advanced by Grotius long before.

²⁶ ii. 74. See also the remarks of Postgate on Lucan, vii. 325.

On this basis, the sentence might be rendered: "Whether you assault with deadly blade a kinsman's breast, or whether you find no kinsman to slay, count it a crime to waste²⁷ time in killing any of the common herd." One of the explanations recorded in the comment of Endt looks toward this interpretation;²⁸ but the editors in general have worked off in other directions.²⁹

It is nothing against the above interpretation that it represents Caesar as savage and brutal; for this is a character that Lucan delights to ascribe to him. Indeed, it looks like an intentional lurid touch that sends Caesar's soldiers against their own relatives, whereas Appian says merely that they were directed against the Romans in Pompey's line.

7.

viii. 335 ff.

Quid, transfuga mundi,
 Terrarum totos tractus caelumque perosus,
 Aversosque polos alienaque sidera quaeris,
 Chaldaeos culture focos et barbara sacra,
 Parthorum famulus? Quid causa obtenditur armis
 340 Libertatis amor? Miserum quid decipis orbem,
 Si servire potes? Te, quem Romana regentem
 Horruit auditu, quem captos ducere reges
 Vidit ab Hyrcanis Indoque a litore silvis,
 Deiectum fatis, humilem fractumque videbit
 345 Extolletque animos Latium vesanus in orbem,
 se simul et Romam Pompeio supplice mensus?
 Nil animis fatisque tuis effabere dignum;
 Exiget ignorans Latiae commercia linguae,
 Ut lacrimis se, Magne, roges.

Lentulus thus inveighs against Pompey's proposal to appeal to the Parthians for support in the struggle against Caesar. In the received text here quoted there is a serious difficulty beginning with verse 341, for the reason that the following verbs

²⁷ In Appian's account (*l. c.*) Caesar is represented as most emphatically forbidding such dissipation of energy.

²⁸ See also the note of Bentley, *ad loc.*

²⁹ See the translation and note of Bourgery and Ponchont. Burman felt that emendation might be necessary. Haskins adopts the slightly attested *imputat* for *imputet*, construing *hostis* as the nominative form. Weise accepts *impetat*.

lack a subject. It is true that *Parthorum* precedes in 339; but, after two intervening sentences, it is extremely awkward to resume with a series of undefined singular verbs, the last of which (*exiget*, 348) can be understood only as referring to the king of the Parthians.

Most of the editors have nothing to say of the lack of a subject from 341 onward; but Francken and Housman give serious consideration to the matter. The former suspects that *auditu* (342) may be a corruption of the text concealing the subject of the sentence, e. g., *Arsacides*. He hesitates, however, to sponsor such a reading, because the change to *auditu* would be hard to explain. It should be added, also, that *auditu* could not well be spared from the sentence, because there seems to be a studied antithesis between it and *Vidit* (343).

Housman directs his attention to line 345, and for *Extolletque* he ingeniously conjectures *Rex tolletque*, which could be fitted into a not unreasonable interpretation of the passage.³⁰

It should not be forgotten, however, that though all the editions read *quem* in 341, there is also a variant *qui*, which seems even to be given the preference in the comment of Endt: "*qui vel quem*." Housman thinks that *qui* is an emendation designed to bring the sentence into more logical form,³¹ but there are other possibilities.

For example, if read aloud, *te qui* can be given the effect of *qui te*; or, better still, the original reading may have been *qui te*, corrupted to *te qui* by accidental transposition.

Given the reading *te qui* attested by Endt,³² it is easy to see how *qui* might have been changed to the accusative under the influence of *quem* of the following line, thus producing the text used in all the editions.

It should be noted, further, that the words *Quid causa . . . potes* (339-341) perhaps are parenthetic padding. Utilizing this idea and assuming *qui te* as the original reading in 341, the passage would exhibit the following structure:

³⁰ It probably would be captious to hark back to the date indicated in line 341, and to ask whether one particular king of the Parthians would be referred to in all the connections down to 349.

³¹ See his note on line 345, and the critique of the same by E. Fraenkel, *Gnomon* II (1926), 511.

³² It is also a marginal reading in U.

- Chaldaeos culture focos et barbara sacra,
 Parthorum famulus? (Quid causa obtenditur armis
 340 Libertatis amor? Miserum quid decipis orbem,
 Si servire potes?) Qui te Romana regentem
 Horruit auditu, quem captos ducere reges
 Vidit, humilem fractumque videbit?³³

Picking up the thread after the parenthesis, *Qui* might well first be felt by the reader as representing *Parthus* (in the collective sense), with clear emergence of the idea of an individual Parthian (the king) when line 348 is reached.

For this there is an interesting parallel in vi. 106 ff., where the collective singular *hostis* is used of the Caesarians as a body; then, without any mark of change of subject, the application of the word is narrowed to a concrete reference to the leader himself; for *cernit* (110) surely refers to Caesar only,—and in contrast to his troops, whose sorry plight engages his attention.

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³³ This appears to be one of the interesting examples in which a parenthesis is inserted between phrases which together constitute a hexameter line. Putting together the first part of 339 and the latter part of 341, the result would be:

Parthorum famulus? Qui te Romana regentem

The same thing would hold, of course, with the reading *Te quem*. On this method of composition, see the University of California Publications in Classical Philology, 11, 298 ff.

THE UNITY OF CERTAIN ELEGIES OF PROPERTIUS.

Several elegies of Propertius have suffered from harsh treatment at the hands of the editors, who have divided them into A's, B's, and C's¹ often without making sufficient effort to understand the author's technique where he departs from the usual types. The narrative elegy and what may be called the elegy of mood certainly occur most frequently. In the latter a given theme or topic is developed with no change in the underlying circumstances, or at least no external change corresponding to the poet's variation of mood in the course of the elegy. There is, however, a third type in which incidents or emotions are presented dramatically and the elegy is treated as a monologue or carried on by successive scenes as a drama. Though in such cases the treatment is subjective, the poet reveals no more knowledge of the outcome than an actor, and the reader sometimes learns of incidents only by implication. The failure of the editors to take this type into account has led them to reduce all the elegies to the more common types.²

In the dramatic type the important feature is the poet's response to a change of situation which is implicit in the elegy. He writes as though he were participating in each incident as it occurs, not from a fixed point before or after the event. Fortunately there are examples of this technique in other poets where no one has suggested dividing the poem. From these cases it is possible to establish the principle of composition followed by Propertius. The poems describing ritual³ or processions natur-

¹ This division has led to the treatment of individual elegies as cycles. I, 7 and I, 9 are separated but there is no such clear case for the division of I, 8.

² S. G. Tremenheere, *The Elegies of Propertius* (1931), 441, on II, 28 (27), 47 furnishes a clear illustration of this attitude, "Lachmann was certainly right in making a new elegy commence here. The previous poem represents Cynthia at death's door. If she still were, how could Propertius have written the last line of this?"

³ Catullus 61 supplies an example of narrative use of the shifting point of view. See W. B. McDaniel, 2d, *Catullus* (1931), 108, "This one is, further, not strictly a marriage song, but rather a poetic narration of the events of the wedding ceremony as they are observed by the narrator, who is, of course, in *propria persona*, Catullus."

ally use a form of this technique. Tibullus II, 1 begins with Tibullus as the priest, instructing the worshippers, offering sacrifice, and praying. He next appears as the *magister bibendi* eulogizing Messalla. Finally he is the didactic poet, treating first of agriculture, then of love. The conclusion, with the approach of night, shows the passage of time⁴ and change of scene as additional dramatic elements. Tibullus II, 2 opens with sacrifice to the *Genius* to whom Cornutus is urged to address his prayers (9). At line 10 Tibullus, as priest, informs Cornutus that his *Genius* has shown that he is favorably disposed. The poet then expresses the prayer for Cornutus and at line 17 (*vota cadunt*) we learn that the wish is granted.

Catullus 8, furnishes an example free of the complications of ritual. The first 11 lines show the poet in self-communion. At line 12 the scene changes as he turns to Lesbia (in imagination) to inform her of the consequences of his deliberations. In the last line (19) he recalls himself somewhat reluctantly to the determination of line 11. Horace (*Odes* I, 27) supplies another example of this technique.⁵ In this dramatic monologue the word of the brother of Opuntian Megilla causes the change from merry raillery to mock concern. The crisis occurs in the middle of a line (18), and the reader must guess for himself from Horace's reaction what was said.

These examples are sufficient to indicate the existence of a subjective dramatic type in Roman poetry.⁶ Application of this principle of composition to the analysis of certain elegies of Propertius will, I think, demonstrate their artistic unity. Propertius I, 8 contains 46 lines. The first 26 are devoted to Propertius' fear that Cynthia will desert him and go to Illyria, and to his protestation of undying love for her even though deserted; the last 20 express his joyous affirmation that she is

⁴ Catullus 63 carefully accounts for the passage of time in the usual narrative manner.

⁵ See L. P. Wilkinson, Horace, Epode IX, *Classical Review*, XLVII (1933) 2-6, for an excellent treatment of another example.

⁶ The absence of sufficient Alexandrian elegy is fatal to any attempt to give a final answer to the origin of the type, though three epigrams of Meleager show dramatic treatment. In V, 176, Stadtmueller, *Anthologia Graeca*, I (1894), Love, lost in the beginning of the poem, is found hiding in Zenophila's eyes. V, 177, a "baby" for sale, and V, 181, a message for Dorcas, are both dramatic monologues.

now and always will remain his. Following Lipsius most modern editors⁷ have begun a new elegy at line 27.⁸ If, however, we recognize a dramatic technique, the structure of the elegy is clear. Propertius has chosen to place himself within the limits of the elegy as an actor in a drama, and the reader is kept in suspense until the action reaches its climax. In the first 22 lines the poet addresses Cynthia in the second person, as if she were present, and in preparation for the last 20 lines he modulates to the third person by quoting himself (24-26). Without interpreting too literally we may say that news of Cynthia's faithfulness reaches him, and the song of triumph comes much more naturally without the complication of direct address to Cynthia, the subject of it. The fact that the shift of person is made in the lines regularly attached to the first part is further reason to consider the elegy a unit.

I, 15, a complaint on Cynthia's faithlessness, is occasionally divided at 25.⁹ Richmond's comment,¹⁰ *unum distichon iam ante uncialem excidisse censeo, in quo verborum Cynthiae et blanditiarum fuerit mentio*, is indicative of failure to realize that in Propertius' dramatized treatment such *mentio* is often implicit and not to be accounted for by assuming a *lacuna*. This elegy also is a dramatic monologue in which an imagined gesture of expostulation is sufficient to change the poet's line of thought.

In II, 24 the poet seeks to clarify the overtones of his relationship with Cynthia. In response to the question of an unnamed interlocutor, he admits his promiscuity and seeks to explain

⁷ J. P. Postgate, *Select Elegies of Propertius* (1895); H. E. Butler, *Sexti Properti Opera Omnia* (1905); K. P. Harrington, *The Roman Elegiac Poets* (1914); Max Rothstein, *Die Elegien des Sextus Propertius* (1920); O. L. Richmond, *Propertius* (1928). J. S. Phillimore, *Sexti Properti Carmina* (1901), prints the elegy as one, though his translation (1906) shows the usual division. M. Ites, *De Properti Elegiis inter se conexis* (1908), notes the connection but leaves the division into parts. C. Hosius, *Sex. Propertii elegiarum Libri IV* (1922, 3rd ed. 1932) prints the elegy with a space intervening. He is followed by Tremenhoe, *op. cit.*, who remarks, 397, "At this point either a new elegy or a supplement to the preceding lines begins."

⁸ *erat*, AFN, is the better reading and more consistent with my interpretation though *erit*, DV, can be read.

⁹ E. g. Ribbeck, Rothstein.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, 122, *post v. 30* (his numbering).

that however famous his book, *Cynthia*, is, he has suffered great wrongs from her treatment of him. The thought that she is entirely to blame leads him to imagine her present and he launches into reproaches for her fickleness and then contrasts his own undying love (whatever his actions may seem to indicate). The interlocutor, a protactic character, disappears at line 16, and the remainder of the elegy is entirely addressed to Cynthia.

II, 28 presents a more complex problem. In the *Mss.* (with the exception of N and Memmianus which begin a new elegy at line 35) it appears as one elegy. With the exception of Harrington¹¹ who prints it as one elegy though he fails to perceive the technique, the editors make two or three elegies. Before we proceed to a detailed analysis a brief summary may be useful:

Jupiter, pity my darling though her blasphemy caused her sickness. At the last, fate is often kinder; witness Io, Ino, Andromeda, and Callisto. In death, my darling, you will be among the famous. Repentance can influence even Juno. Though all the omens are unfavorable, spare her for my sake; we will repay you, Jove. Persephone, spare her longer; you already possess Iope, Tyro, Europa, and Pasiphae. Soon enough she will be yours. My darling, you are saved. Pay your vows to Diana, to Isis, and to me.

The reader is kept in suspense as Propertius follows the course of the disease. The presentation is dramatic, enabling the poet to show the earlier stages of the disease with the vividness of present misfortune. Three passages give the framework. The illness is announced (1-4), the crisis is implicit in the prayer (41-46), recovery is indicated (59-62). The shifting modes of address are due to the changes of scene as Propertius imagines himself before the altars of the various gods or at the bedside of his sick mistress. The omens (35-38) are the culmination of the successive signs of increasing peril; *affectae puellae* (1), *extremo die* (16), *sepulturae tuae* (26). Correspondingly there is a descending series after the prayer; *maneant clementia* (47), . . . *es . . . magno dimissa periclo* (59). The dramatization is subjective, and is presented as a sort of monologue, but the

¹¹ *Op. cit.* 266, 1.59; "If this elegy was written after Cynthia's recovery, this verse represents the actual condition of things at the time of composition; if it was penned during the progress of the disease, it expresses a more or less well-grounded faith that his prayers are heard."

reader is a spectator and is so treated by the poet as in the mime.¹²

If this is the poet's method and the *Mss.* for the most part contain these elegies in their proper form, the probability of serious dislocation is lessened and one may, without being reactionary urge more conservative treatment of the *Ms.* tradition and greater respect for it.

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¹² Theocritus 15 and Herodas 5 are good examples of the objective use of this technique in a literary form which influenced the elegists. See Nairn, *The Mimes of Herodas* (1904), xl-xli.

A NOTE ON CATO, *DE AGRI CULTURA*, LVI.

[Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XVIII. 66-68 affords proof that the bread allowance to the *conpediti*, in Cato's *De Agri Cultura*, LVI, was made at a rate per day.]

The text of chapter LVI of Cato's *De Agri Cultura* runs as follows:

Familiae cibaria. qui opus facient per hiemem tritici modios IIII, per aestatem modios IIII S, vilico, vilicae, epistatae, opiloni modios III, conpeditis per hiemem panis P. IIII, ubi vineam fodere coeperint, panis P. V, usque adeo dum ficos esse coeperint, deinde ad P. IIII redito.¹

From several sources we are able to determine that the allowances of three, four, or four and one-half *modii* were made by the month.² But Cato is somewhat obscure in his statement of the food allowance for the *conpediti*. He says they are to receive four pounds of bread during the winter, and five pounds during the part of the season when they would be most active. He does not vouchsafe any information concerning how often the *conpediti* would receive this ration. There is a passage in the elder Pliny,³ however, upon the basis of which it becomes clear that these slaves of Cato were given their bread at the rate of four or five pounds per day.⁴

Pliny in this passage discourses upon the different kinds of wheat, their quality and appearance. In section 66 he describes the wheat which comes to Rome from the various provinces and

¹ This is the text of H. Keil, *M. Porci Catonis De Agri Cultura Liber* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1884). G. Goetz in his more recent edition (Leipzig, Teubner, 1922) has not altered the text of Keil.

² E. g., Polybius, VI. 39. 12-15; Donatus, note on Terence, *Phormio*, 43. Sallust, *Historiae*, III. 48. 19 and Seneca, *Epistulae*, LXXX. 7 should be mentioned though they do not state specifically that the quantity of grain represents a monthly allowance.

³ *Naturalis Historia*, XVIII. 66-68.

⁴ I am indebted to Professor Tenney Frank for calling my attention to G. Curcio, *La Primitiva Civiltà Latina Agricola e il Libro dell' Agricoltura di M. Porcio Catone* (Firenze, 1929) p. 48. Here the author states that the ration for the *conpediti* was calculated by the day, but he offers no demonstration for his conclusion. Furthermore, he says that one *modius* of grain weighs 8.75 pounds, a statement which is, of course, controverted by the passage in Pliny.

in connection with each kind he tells how much the wheat weighs per *modius*. In section 67 he makes this statement: *Lex certe naturae ut in quocumque genere pani militari tertia portio ad grani pondus accedat, sicut optimum frumentum esse quod in subactu congiū aquae capiat*. From Pliny's figures concerning the weight of the various kinds of wheat and his so-called *lex naturae*, viz., that *panis militaris* weighs a third more than the wheat from which it is made, we may arrive at the following table: ⁵

Region where grain was grown	per <i>modius</i> . in pounds Weight	from 1 <i>modius</i> of grain <i>panis militaris</i> made Weight in pounds of
Gaul	20	26.67 —
Chersonnesus	20	26.67 —
Sardinia	20.5	27.33 +
Alexandria	20.8 +	27.73 +
Sicily	20.8 +	27.73 +
Boeotia	21.8 +	29.07 —
Africa	22.6 —	30.13 +
Transpadana Italia ⁶	25	33.33 +
(Italia) circa Clusium	26	34.67 —

Returning to our passage in Cato we may calculate that one of the *conpediti* would receive 120 pounds of bread in a thirty day month at 4 pounds a day. Upon the basis of the figure in our

⁵ We should note in this connection the second part of Pliny's statement. When he says *sicut optimum . . . congiū aquae capiat*, it is reasonable to assume that he means that the grain takes up one *congius* of water per *modius*. A *congius* of water, according to Hultsch (P-W, R-E, s. v.) weighed ten Roman pounds. If we should add ten pounds to each of the grain weights in the table, we would have resultant weights somewhat in excess of those given in the right hand column. However, we must remember that Pliny limits this rate of absorption to the "best grain." Furthermore these resultant weights would apply only to the dough before baking. Of course, in the process of baking the weight would decrease to a certain extent. Hence we can be safe in saying that in the whole passage which we have quoted from Pliny there are no essentially contradictory elements. All of Pliny's figures have been included in the table, though of the imported grains, only those from Sicily and Sardinia, so far as we know, were brought to Italy in Cato's day.

⁶ Pliny's figures for *transpadana Italia* and *(Italia) circa Clusium* are for *far*. The remaining figures are for *tritium*.

table, 3.46 + *modii* of grain would be necessary to make the 120 pounds of bread, if the grain used were the *far* grown in the neighborhood of Clusium. If the *conpeditus* were being rationed at the rate of 5 pounds of bread per day, there would be need of 4.33 — *modii* of the *far*. With regard to the seven other types of grain which Pliny says were imported, we can calculate that the average weight per *modius* of the seven is 20.93 pounds. The average weight of the bread made from such a *modius* would be 27.9 — pounds. If this bread were used, each *conpeditus* would consume 4.3 — *modii* per month on the 4 pounds a day ration, and 5.34 — *modii* on the 5 pounds a day ration.

Our figures then indicate that the amount of grain necessary to feed each *conpeditus* ranges between 3.46 — *modii* a month to 5.34 — *modii*, the variation depending, of course, upon the type of grain used and the rate of rationing. The fact that these figures correspond closely to those of Cato in his allotment of grain to the other members of his farm staff proves conclusively that the figures dealing with the bread allotment to the *conpediti* are to be understood as rates per day.

One may draw legitimately a further conclusion. We see that Cato divides his farm staff into three groups. Besides the *conpediti*, we have those whom Cato designates as *qui opus facient*. Their grain allotment is four *modii* per month in winter, and four and one-half in summer. The third group consists of the *vilicus*, *vilica*, *epistates*, and *opilio*, who receive but three *modii* per month. Our calculations based on the heavier *far* grown in the vicinity of Clusium revealed a need of 3.46 — *modii* and 4.33 — *modii* per month per *conpeditus*. Since these figures correspond more closely to the amounts allotted to the other farm workers than do those calculated on the basis of the lighter imported grain, one may conclude that Cato planned to have the bread for his *conpediti* made from heavier, and perhaps home-grown, grain.⁷

⁷ The fact that Cato in his next chapter, *De Agri Cultura*, LVII, allows the *conpediti* more wine than he does the others, in all probability only indicates that these slaves subsisted almost entirely on their allotments of bread and wine. One may be reasonably sure that Cato's rations were sufficient to keep his laborers in good working condition, and not much more. Our conclusion that the heavier grain was used, of course, does not imply that the *conpediti* would thus get more to eat,

Two further points remain. One is undoubtedly struck by the enormous quantity of bread that these chain-gang slaves must have consumed. However, this does not seem so strange when we remember that the slaves had very little else to eat, and that the bread was largely unleavened. Thus a pound of Roman bread would be far smaller by volume than a similar weight of modern yeast-leavened bread. And finally, it is perfectly apparent why Cato gave his *conpediti* bread ready-made while his other laborers received the grain. It is, of course, because the *conpediti*, as their name indicates, were chain-gang slaves, and had neither the equipment nor the opportunity to convert grain into bread.⁸

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but only that it would take a smaller quantity of grain to provide the same weight of bread.

⁸ Pedro Chacon, *Opuscula* (Rome, Vatican, 1608), p. 101, employed the passage in Pliny to interpret chapter LVI of the *De Agri Cultura* of Cato. His treatment, however, is brief and inaccurate.

ENGLISH *strawberry*.

Although seeds of the wild strawberry (*Fragaria vesca*) have been found in the remains of the neolithic lake-dwellings in Switzerland, there is no linguistic evidence that it was ever seen or tasted in prehistoric Indo-European times. Apparently the ancient Greeks did not know it, nor the Hindus. The earliest record is Latin *fraga* 'strawberries' (Vergil); *fragum*, as the plant, appears in Late Latin. The Latin word is probably connected with *fragrare* 'to be fragrant', or possibly with Greek *rhâx*, *rhagós*, 'grape, berry', and in either or any case shows no background in the sense of strawberry. The Romanic words are from the Latin: French *fraise* (Spanish *fresa*), Rumanian *fragă*, Italian *fraga*, etc. In Balto-Slavic the terminology is varied, but it consists for the most part of specific applications of words for berry, fruit: Old Bulgarian (*j*)*agoda* 'fruit', later 'strawberry', Slovenian *jagoda* 'berry, strawberry', Serbo-Croatian *jagoda* 'strawberry', Polish *jagoda* 'berry', Czech *jahoda* 'strawberry', Russian *yagoda* 'berry'. Or descriptive names are given based on the fact that the strawberry, unlike ordinary berries, grows close to the earth: Polish *poziomka* 'strawberry' (cf. *poziomy* 'level, horizontal'); Lithuanian *žemuogė* 'strawberry', literally, 'earth-berry', Russian *zemlyanika*.

Likewise in Germanic the strawberry is named as the earth-berry: Old High German *erdberi*, German *erdbeere*, Dutch *aardbezie*, Danish *jordbær*, Anglo-Saxon *eorthberige* (which did not survive in English). English *strawberry* stands alone and has no parallels in other languages. On its face a compound of *straw* and *berry*, the reason for the name is far from obvious, and many speculations have been advanced to explain it. Kluge (*IF.*, IV. 309) attempted to cut the knot by cognating Anglo-Saxon *strēaw-* in *strēawberige* with Latin *fragum* and Greek *rhâx*, *rhagós*, but for various and cogent reasons this suggestion has won, and deserved, small measure of acceptance (although thought worthy of consideration by Kluge-Lutz, Walde, Wyld, and others), and it need not be further discussed here. Skeat (*Etymological Dictionary*) derives *strawberry* from *straw* 'a stalk of corn when thrashed', but in his phrase "from its propa-

gation (or strewing) by runners" seems to imply association with the closely allied *strew*, dialectic *straw*, 'to scatter', and in his *Concise Etymological Dictionary* Skeat specifically refers to *strew*: "perhaps from its propagation by runners; cf. *strew*." But the Anglo-Saxon forms of *strawberry* are clearly those of the noun *straw*, and not those of the verb *strew*, and still less those of the variant verb *straw*. And a compound in the sense of 'scatterberry' is improbable both as to formation and as to the facts.

Most frequently, however, the suggestion is made that the strawberry may have been named from its strawlike runners (*NED.*, alternatively; *Pocket Oxford Dictionary*, exclusively and positively; Webster's *New International*; *Century*; Wyld, *Universal English Dictionary*), sometimes with reference to the "straw" of other plants than the cereals, such as pease or buckwheat. But this is a transferred meaning of *straw* and it does not appear until centuries after the strawberry was named. And only the exigencies of etymological interpretation could ever have suggested any similarity between straw and strawberry runners: the green, long and slender, prostrate, vinelike (cf. the common *strawberry vines* for *strawberry plants*), non-tubular branches or shoots (sarmenta or stolons), from which new plants develop. Another theory (*NED.*, Weekley) would derive *strawberry* from *straw* in the sense of 'small particle, chaff, mote', with reference to the tiny seedlike achenes or carpels which are scattered over the surface of the so-called berry or fruit. But such a name would seem strangely minute and un-descriptive, and generally unlikely.

It seems probable that most English-speaking persons assume connection between the word *strawberry* and the straw that is used to keep the cultivated berries off the ground or to cover the plants as a protection in winter, and this rationalization of the word has been given serious consideration by philologists (Wyld and others; less serious, *Century*). It is sufficient to say that the strawberry was so named in the tenth century or earlier; that no berry was cultivated in northern Europe until after the Middle Ages; and that the culture of the strawberry apparently began about the end of the 16th century.

There remains only mention of the idea that the name *strawberry* may allude to an old habit of stringing the berries on a

straw (*Century*), and the assumption that it is a corruption of an assumed *strayberry* (*Century*, adversely). Some English dictionaries (*Standard*, *Winston*) avoid trouble by deriving, without explanation, from *straw* plus *berry*. None of these many analyses of the word *strawberry* could have seemed entirely satisfactory even to their authors, and they could be fairly summed up at present by some such etymology as: From Anglo-Saxon *strēawberige*, apparently from *strēaw* straw and *berige*, *berie*, berry, grape, but why so named is not known.

As we have seen, the linguistic evidence is all in favor of the noun *straw* as the first element of the compound, and of *berry* as the second. The forms in Anglo-Saxon are *strēawberige*, *strēaberige*, *strēowberige*, *strēuberige*; the earliest forms are *strēaw*- and *strēa*-; and the earliest date is about 1000 A. D. In the same period appears our word *straw* with the forms *strēaw*, *strēow*, *strēw*, but with the meaning of hay or grass. Aelfric translates Latin *foenum* (*faenum*) 'hay' by Anglo-Saxon *gærs* or *strēow*, and again by *strēw* (*strēow*, *strēaw*) alone. In other passages it is impossible to say whether hay or straw is meant, but at least the meaning 'hay' is perfectly established for Anglo-Saxon *strēaw*, and it seems clear that to Aelfric the word *strawberry* must have meant *hayberry*.

Now the berry that Aelfric knew was the wild strawberry (*Fragaria vesca*), and the wild strawberry grows chiefly in grassy places and in hay fields. It ripens at the time of the hay harvest, and the red berries are very frequently found in the stubble under the mown hay. The strawberry is still associated with the raking and the making of the hay in the experience of many a farmer and in the memories of many a farmer's boy, according to abundant testimony. It seems extremely probable that the strawberry received its name in much the same way as the harvest-apple, only more directly, for the strawberry not only ripened at the haying, but actually grew in or under the hay.

Finally, lest there be doubt whether the Anglo-Saxons cut grass and made hay (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*¹⁴, s. v. *hay*, says, with special reference to Great Britain, that haymaking was unknown in ancient times), cf. Anglo-Saxon *hæg*, *hieg*, 'hay', Old High German *hewi*, Old Norse *hey*, Gothic *hawī*, and the cognate Anglo-Saxon *hēawan* 'to cut', English *hew*; also Anglo-Saxon (trans., c. 900 A. D., of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*,

c. 700 A. D.): *Thær* [in Ireland, as contrasted with Britain] *nænig mann for wintres cýle on sumera hæg ne mǣweth: nemo propter hiemem foena secet aestate.*

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THE BASILICA ARGENTARIA.

One of the most interesting discoveries that has recently been made in Rome, in connection with the excavation of the Forum of Julius Caesar, is the ascending road between the Capitol and the Comitium, which is known as the *clivus argentarius*. Close to it have been discovered the remains of a building which probably dates from the time of Domitian.¹ This has been tentatively identified as the *basilica argentaria*, a structure mentioned only in the Regionary Catalogues. Although there is no documentary evidence for the application of the adjective *argentarius* to the *clivus* earlier than the Middle Ages, it seems likely that the street was so designated in the time of the Roman Empire,² and that it took its name from the building adjacent to it. What activities, then, may we assume were housed in this basilica?

Among the Romans the adjective *argentarius* was used in two senses (1) referring to the use of silver as a metal—hence, *argentarii*, “silversmiths”, as in the *arcus argentariorum*, applied to the well-known arch of Septimius Severus in the Forum Boarium; (2) in a derived sense, like the French *argent* meaning “money”, e. g. *mensa argentaria*, “a money-changer’s counter.” It is this second usage that is most frequently cited from Latin authors, and this is the meaning that the eminent Italian archaeologist, Corrado Ricci, believes must be understood in the case of the basilica. In describing the excavations of the Forum of Julius Caesar, Ricci refers to the mention of the *basilica argentaria* in the Regionary Catalogues and says that we must not believe in this instance that the adjective refers to the silversmiths who plied their trade and had their headquarters here, but to the *argentarii* who were money-changers and bankers.³

¹ Corrado Ricci, “Il foro di Julio Cesare,” *Capitolium* VIII (1932), 385.

² Platner and Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (London: Oxford University Press, 1929), p. 122.

³ Ricci, *op. cit.*, p. 385.

There are indications, however, that this statement is open to question.

Granted that the word *argentarius* may refer to bankers as well as to silversmiths, let us consider the noun to which it is attached, in hopes that we may get further light upon it in this case. A Roman basilica has been defined as "a very common type of building erected for business purposes and also for the accommodation of the courts."⁴ We are told that bankers and money-changers had their headquarters in the Basilica Julia in the Forum,⁵ and the probable situation of the *Janus medius* near the Basilica Aemilia connects that building with money-lenders and speculators.⁶ Thus it is natural to associate the idea of banking and money with the activities of a basilica, a fact which may lead to a misinterpretation of the adjective under discussion.

It has already been observed⁷ that while the *basilica argentaria* appears in the text of the Regionary Catalogues, this building is not mentioned in the Appendix to the same document, though *basilica vascellaria*, a building not included in the text, does occur there. This fact leads to the obvious conclusion that these buildings were identical. If this is true, there is no doubt that the building was used for the sale of small objects of bronze and silver. Inscriptional evidence shows that *vascularius* and *argentarius* are often applied to the same man, along with such words as *caelator* and *excusor*,⁸ in all of which cases it must refer to an artisan rather than to a banker. One significant inscription reads *de basilica vascula(ri)a aurari(o)et argentario*.⁹ This seems to mean "to the gold and silver dealer from the basilica vascularia". Thus it appears that the substitution of *vascellaria* for *argentaria* by the compiler of the Regionary Catalogues would be most natural.

Furthermore in the Regionary Catalogues we have mention of

⁴ Platner and Ashby, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

⁵ C. Huelsen, *The Roman Forum* (Rome: Loescher and Co., 1909), p. 61.

⁶ Platner and Ashby, *op. cit.*, pp. 275-76.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

⁸ *C. I. L.* VI, 4328; II, 3749; XIII, 1948.

⁹ *Ibid.*, XI, 3821. The editors of the Corpus believe that this refers to the *basilicam urbanam quae fuit in regione octava, dicta in indice regionis ipsius argentaria, in appendice vascolaria*.

a *basilica floscellaria*,¹⁰ where apparently flowers and fruit were sold, and of a *basilica vestilia*,¹¹ which must have been a clothing emporium. Since banking was a normal function of the basilicas in the Forum, it seems less likely that *argentaria* in this sense would be applied to a building which was used strictly for financial dealings than to one which offered small objects for sale. We may notice too a comment of Acron on Horace¹² where one of the Janus statues (or arches) is said to be *post basilicam Pauli ubi vasa aenea venum dabantur*. Perhaps this place of business near the Basilica Aemilia was later installed in a large and impressive building that gave its name to the *clivus* adjoining it. At any rate, the evidence seems to show that the *basilica argentaria* of the eighth region, whether or not it is to be identified with the building which has just been uncovered, was the headquarters for dealers in small metal objects, rather than the center of the banking activities of that part of the city.

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LAT. *nītēre* — *renīdēre* — *nīdor*.

Lat. *nītēre* wird gewöhnlich¹ zu einer Wurzel **nei* gestellt, die in mir. *niam* 'Glanz, glänzender Schmuck', mir. *niamde* 'glänzend', cymr. *nwyf* 'Lebhaftigkeit' etc. enthalten ist. Die zu *nītēre* gehörigen Bildungen sind *nītor*, *nītēla*, *nītīdus*, *nītīdāre*, *nītēscere* (*inter-*, *prae-*, *per-*, *re-*). Es läge demnach eine *t*-Bildung aus der Schwundstufe der Wurzel vor, etwa wie in *lātēre* neben gr. *λατάνω*, *λάτρω*.

Wie steht es mit *renīdēre*? Der Bedeutung wegen kann man es von *nītēre* nicht gut trennen. Wenn die beiden Wörter nicht die Verschiedenheit in der Quantität des *i* aufweisen würden, so stünde einer Zusammenstellung nichts im Wege. Nun liesse sich durch Annahme eines Langdiphthongen mit sekundärer

¹⁰ Platner and Ashby, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

¹² *Ep.* I. 1. 53-54.

¹ Vgl. Walde-Pokorny II 321 und die dort angegebene Literatur. Meillet-Ernout, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, 1932, S. 640 zieht diese Etymologie in Zweifel: Irl. *niam* "éclat" ferait penser à une racine **nei* "briller" . . . Hypothèse incertaine.

Kürzung in *nītēre* (für die allerdings kein Grund angegeben werden könnte), diese Schwierigkeit aus dem Wege räumen. Eine Lösung, die von dem in *nītēre* vorliegenden kurzen *ī* ausgeht, ist jedoch der hypothetischen Heranziehung eines Langdiphthongen vorzuziehen. Und eine solche gibt es.

Zur Erklärung von *renīdēre* geht man aus von einem Adjektiv **nīdus*. Diese Adjektiva haben gewöhnlich die Endung *-idus*; zwischen der meist schwundstufigen Wurzel und dem *d* erscheint noch ein Element *i*. **nīdus* ist also aus *nī* + *idus* entstanden. Es liegt in *-nīdēre* eine Bildung vor, die sich etwa einem *audēre* zu *avidus* oder *ardēre* zu *aridus* vergleicht.

Darf *nīdor* hierhergestellt werden? Zuerst die Bedeutung: 'Dampf, Geruch, Qualm'; 'fumet, odeur, qui s'échappe d'un objet qui luit ou qui brûle'. Diese Bedeutung liegt nicht weit ab von **nīdus* 'leuchtend'; sie kann sich leicht aus **nīdus*, (*-nīdēre*) entwickelt haben. Von Seiten der Form stellen sich einer Zusammenstellung von *nīdor* und *-nīdēre* kein Bedenken entgegen. *nīdor*, *nīdōris*, m., gehört zu einem Verb der zweiten Klasse, und zwar zu den Zustandsverben, den Neutropassiven: *nīdor*²: *-nīdēre* = *tepor*: *tepēre*. *nīdor* ist demnach eine Bildung, die etwa mit *ardor* und weiterhin mit *caldor* und *frigdor* zu vergleichen ist.

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AN EMENDATION OF *octius* IN CIC. *ad Att.* 12, 46, 1.

In the spring of 45 B. C., after the death of Tullia, Cicero remained in solitude at Astura most of two months. Despite constant urging from his friends and a desire to make progress with his essays in his own library, he could not then bring himself to return to his Tusculan villa where Tullia had died. Finally about the middle of May (*ad Att.* 12, 46, 1) he determined to set out, saying *vincam, opinor, animum et Lanuvio pergam in Tusculanum*. He continues: "I shall either have to give up that villa permanently (for my sorrow will remain the same, *tantum modo* † *octius*) or it will matter little whether I go there now or ten years from now."

² Es handelt sich hier keineswegs um *s*-Stämme, wie gewöhnlich behauptet wird, sondern um *r*-Bildungen (Schulze). Lat. *d* ist wohl idg. *dh*, wie an anderer Stelle ausgeführt wird.

Sjögren's new edition of these letters accepts Schmidt's emendation of *octius* to *occultius*. Manitius suggested *mediocrius*, Lambinus *modestius* — et alii alia. But these suggestions all seem to miss the point. Cicero says explicitly that the grief will not diminish and that it will be no easier ten years off. What is desired is a word that will suggest the same idea as *vincam*. He means that, though the suffering will not diminish, he must master himself and subject his grief to control. I suggest that *octius* is a medieval transcription of the Greek *ὥστίος*, the verbal of *ὥθέω*, and what he meant was: "My grief will remain the same, but it must be kept in subjection, so that I can proceed with my work." It will be remembered that in his epistles Cicero shows fondness for this Greek verbal. Examples are: *πόρον κλεπτέον* (*Att.* 10, 12, 2); *φαινοπροσωπητέον* and *ιτέον* (*Att.* 14, 22, 2), and *φιλοσοφητέον* . . . et istos consulatus non flocci *facteon* (*Att.* 1, 16, 13). We also recall that the scribes were apt to change sigma to c, as in *Att.* 2, 17, 2, where *πτῶσις* became *phocis*.

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REPORTS.

RHEINISCHES MUSEUM, LXXIX (1930).

Pp. 1-6. Th. Birt, Zur Tachygraphie der Griechen. Did the Greeks before the time of Tiro employ systems of shorthand? Birt makes use of Varro (quoted in Servius on *Aen.* 3, 444 and 6, 74) and of Suidas (s. v. *Σίβυλλα Χαλδαία*) to defend the probability of the existence of such systems in early Alexandrian times, and the possibility of their use as early as Plato and Thucydides.

Pp. 7-34. Dietrich Mülder, Götteranrufungen in Ilias und Odyssee. Continuation of *Rh. Mus.* 78 (1929), 35-53. Many of these passages, according to Mülder, show signs of being traditional material taken over by the poet from other sources and incorporated, with a greater or less degree of appropriateness, in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. It is this lack of appropriateness that betrays many of them.

Pp. 35-43. Leo Weber, Φρυνίχου Ἀλκίστis. An attempt to restore the outline of the plot of Phrynichus' *Alkestis* and to compare it with the *Alkestis* of Euripides.

Pp. 44-54. Andreas Kocevalov. Einige Beiträge zur griechischen Syntax. 1. *Adiectivum pro adverbio* in Theocritus and Pindar. 2. The position of the article with names of rivers. 3. Unreal futures. 4. The free use of the nominative with infinitive.

Pp. 55-64. Rudolf Zimmermann, Die Quellen Plutarchs in der Biographie des Marcellus. An examination of the relation of Plutarch to his sources, particularly Livy and Valerius Maximus. Livy was Plutarch's principal source for this biography, and he used him directly, although he sometimes quotes him inexactly, due to his relying on his memory. Plutarch worked over his authorities carefully before composition, but does not seem to have had them before him as he wrote. Z. believes that Juba wrote no Roman History. The *Ῥωμ. ἀρχαιολογία* mentioned by Stephanus of Byzantium is really the *ὁμοιότητες* of Juba, and this work was of an antiquarian nature.

Pp. 65-92. Erich Reitzenstein, Zur Erklärung der *Catalepton*-Gedichte. Notes, partly textual, for the greater part interpretative, on the first five poems of the *Catalepton* collection.

Pp. 93-101. Rudolf Zimmermann, Zum Geschichtswerk des Florus. A discussion of the present arrangement of Florus' work and its original plan.

Pp. 102-112. MISZELLEN.

Pp. 102-103. Carl Fries, Etyma. Etymologies of *Syracusae*, *Lilybaeum*, *Cannae*, *haruspeç*, ἦπαρ, τέρας, μηχανή, χιτών.

Pp. 103-106. Eduard Schwyzer, Ἡγητίλαος und ἀγεσίλας [cf. *Rh. Mus.* 78 (1929), 216]. Discussion of the correct Attic form of the name.

Pp. 106-110. Heinrich Lewy, Zu Hesychios. Notes on δεσπότην κεκαρμένον; Σιγώρ; μωσωνή; ἀκάμαλα; δαβούλ.

Pp. 111-112. C. Fries, *De Tarpeiae fabula* [cf. *Rh. Mus.* 78 (1929), 249 ff.]. Fries suggests that the "*anuli aurei*" of the Tarpeia story had, in the original legend, some connection with the phases of the moon.

P. 112. U. Hoefel, Berichtigung zu *Rh. Mus.* 77 (1928), 144, Anm. 1.

Pp. 113-122. Joh. Theoph. Kakridis, Die Niobesage bei Homer. Zur Geschichte des griechischen Παράδειγμα. The story of Niobe as told by Homer (*Iliad* 24, 599-620) does not represent the older, original form of the legend, since (with verses 614-617 omitted, which K. regards as a later interpolation) the petrification of Niobe is not mentioned. Homer alters the story to suit his purpose here. He wishes, in particular, to draw two parallels. As Niobe, in spite of her sorrow, partook of food, so now must Priam. As the children of Niobe lay unburied for ten days before the gods had pity on them, so will Achilles, after twelve days of cruelty, show mercy to the body of Hector. The suggested struggle between the sorrow of the stricken heart of a Priam or a Niobe and the demands of the flesh is not unworthy of the poet of Ω.

Pp. 123-152. Emanuel Loew, Heraklit von Ephesus, der Entdecker des empirisch-physikalischen Weges der Forschung. Loew interprets the fragments in the light of his belief that Heraclitus is "der Begründer der griechischen Aufklärungs-philosophie", the discoverer of physical empiricism.

Pp. 153-169. Otto Immisch, Babriana. A critical examination of ms. A in the light of papyri to determine its value. A is not so trustworthy as has been hitherto believed.

Pp. 170-177. Walther Schwahn, Gehalts- und Lohnzahlung in Athen. A consideration of the payments to workmen mentioned in the two Eleusinian building accounts, IG. II² 1672 and IG. II² 1673.

Pp. 178-182. Walther Schwahn, Die Stärke der Bule bei den Achäern. Discussion of the proposal of Eumenes (Polybius 22, 7, 3) to provide a capital of one hundred and twenty talents, from the interest of which the members of the βουλή of the Achaeans were to receive their compensation. Estimates of the proposed rate of interest, the number and length of the sessions of the βουλή, the probable number of its members, etc.

Pp. 183-196. M. Boas, Cato und Julianus von Toledo. Boas

considers instances of Julianus' mention and quotation of Cato (author of the *Disticha Catonis*), and attempts an estimate of his knowledge of the poems and the extent of his use of them in the *Ars Grammatica*.

Pp. 197-208. Fridericus Marx, *Plauti Cistellaria Menandrea* in *Dioscuridis musiuo Pompeiano*. In this exhibit (No. 9987 of the Naples Museum; cf. *Guida illustrata del Mus. Nazion.* 1908, No. 169, p. 56; L. Curtius, *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis*, Leipz. 1929, pp. 340 ff., tab. X.) reproduced on p. 198, Marx suggests that there is depicted a scene from the play of Menander from which the *Cistellaria* of Plautus was taken.

Pp. 209-214. Emanuel Loew, *Das Lehrgedicht des Parmenides eine Kampfschrift gegen die Lehre Heraklits*. A consideration of three fragments of Parmenides, apparently criticisms of the doctrine of Heraclitus as interpreted by Loew [*Rh. Mus.* 79 (1930), 123 ff.].

Pp. 215-229. Adolf Busse, *Xenophons Schutzschrift und Apologie*. Xenophon's defence of Socrates in the *Memorabilia* falls into three well-defined divisions. The first (1, 1-2, 8) is the defence against the charges brought against Socrates at his trial. It was composed soon after 394/3. There is no evidence that Xenophon was influenced by any written source. It is fairly trustworthy, but there is a tendency to foist Xenophon's own views on Socrates. It was composed without the knowledge of the Platonic *Apology*. The second division (1, 2, 8-16 and 49-64) is apparently an answer to the lampoon of Polycrates, and therefore written after 393. This section, as well, is not free from subjectivity. There is little use of other authorities. In the third (1, 2, 17-48), outside influences are at work. It was composed and inserted after X. had read dialogues of Aeschines of Sphettos and of Antisthenes, but before he knew the Platonic *Apology*; in 392 at the earliest. The *Apology* of Xenophon is a mosaic of expressions, sentences, and thoughts borrowed from Xenophon's own works and from other sources. The genuineness of the work is beyond question. It was composed after the death of Anytus and the appearance of Plato's *Phaedo*.

Pp. 230-252. Friedrich Oertel, *Zur Frage der attischen Grossindustrie*. Oertel contends against W. Schwahn (*Demosthenes gegen Aphobos*) that, in the case of workshops of Attica where ten to thirty slaves were employed, there is no evidence for "kapitalistische Produktionsweise". His arguments, for the greater part, deal with questions concerning the estate of Demosthenes.

Pp. 253-278. Wilhelm Heraeus, *Ein makkaronisches Ovidfragment bei Quintilian*. In Quintilian 8, 6, 33 Heraeus reads:

at 'οἶνοιο' et 'βιοῖο' ferimus in Graecis, Ovidius <i>oco cludit 'vino<eo> bonoeo', and thinks that in vinoeo bonoeo with its Homeric genitive ending we have the conclusion of a hexameter verse of Ovid of a macaronic nature. This verse is possibly from Ovid's youthful book of epigrams available to Quintilian and possibly to Ausonius, who, in his poetic (macaronic) letter to his friend, the rhetor Axius Paulus (p. 401 Schenkl; 232 Peiper), has: κινῶν, εἰ κε θέλεις, νέκταρ οὔνοιο βόνοιο. Heraeus appends a résumé of macaronic poetry in antiquity, a discussion of Ennius' 'Mettoeo Fufetioeo' (Quint. 1, 5, 12) (a genitive of the Homeric form that may have influenced Ovid), and notes on Ausonius' poem.

Pp. 279-302. Ernst Bickel, Apollon und Dodona, ein Beitrag zur Technik und Datierung des Lehrgedichtes Aetna und zur Orakelliteratur bei Lactanz. To explain the difficulty at the beginning of the *Aetna*, where Dodona is spoken of as a favorite abode of Apollo, Bickel interprets three passages of Lactantius and Arnobius and shows that under the Roman Empire oracles of Zeus at Dodona passed under the name of Apollo.

Pp. 303-313. Th. Birt. Martiallesungen. Notes on sixteen passages.

Pp. 314-318. Eduard Schwyzer, Axt und Hammer. Zu Anakreon fr. 47 Bergk (45 Diehl). Schwyzer suggests the possibility that the μέγας πέλεκυς of this fragment is a hammer.

Pp. 319-320. MISZELLE.

Pp. 319-320. H. Vorwahl, Zum Ursprung des 'Feigenblatts'. Discussion as to the significance of fig leaves and fig trees. The fig leaf is not the symbol of modesty, but of an awakened consciousness of sex.

Pp. 321-325. Eduard Schwyzer, Zur ϕηδιστας-Inscription. Textual and grammatical notes on the boustrophedon inscription from Argos published by W. Vollgraff [*Mnemosyne* N. S. 57 (1929), 206-234]. ϕηδιστας is a collateral form of ιδιώτης.

Pp. 326-332. R. Hennig, Herodots 'goldhütende Greifen' und 'goldgrabende Ameisen'. Ein Kapitel zur Klarstellung antiker Wirtschaftsgeographie. The land of the 'gold-guarding griffins' referred to by Herodotus (4, 13-32) in his mention of Aristaeas and his travels, is probably the district bounded by the Ob River, the Altai Mountains, and the Yenisei River. Herodotus' 'gold-digging ants' are possibly bobaks, the Asiatic marmots, and the district referred to is that between the Himalaya and the Kuenlun Mountains or that north of the Kuenlun toward the Gobi Desert. From these indications and discoveries in this part of Asia Hennig thinks that there were trade relations between the Black Sea coast and Mongolia as early as the sixth century B. C.

Pp. 333-342. Carl Clemen, *Die Tötung des Vegetationsgeistes in der römischen Religion*. The slaying of the 'October-horse' by the Romans [Paulus Diaconus 191 and 246 (Lindsay)] and other cases of the offering of horses and other domestic animals by Indo-European peoples were symbolic sacrifices of the Spirit of Vegetation, slain that its powers might be preserved from sterility and so remain operative to grant further fertility to the fields.

Pp. 343-344. C. Fries, *De E Delphico*. A suggestion that the 'E' over the door of the temple at Delphi means '*templum*', a significance that the character seems to have had in Sumerian.

Pp. 345-349. F. Cornelius, *Die Partei des Peisistratus*. A defense of the thesis of Cornelius' work, *Die Tyrannis von Athen*, that the power of Pisistratus was based on the support of the urban population of Athens.

Pp. 350-380. F. Schachermeyr, *Die römisch-punischen Verträge*. New evidence as to the provisions and dates of the three treaties between Rome and Carthage mentioned by Polybius (3, 26, 1). The three treaties were concluded in 348, 306, and 279 B. C.

Pp. 381-390. Rudolf Zimmermann, *Die Zeit des Geschichtsschreibers Curtius Rufus*. Zimmermann believes Quintus Curtius, the historian, to be identical with the Quintus Curtius Rufus, the rhetor, mentioned by Suetonius in his list of the celebrated rhetoricians. Curtius flourished under Tiberius or Caligula. The emperor referred to by Curtius (10, 9, 3 ff.) is Caligula, not Vespasian.

Pp. 391-405. Wilhelm Heraeus, *Drei Fragmente eines Grammatikers Ovidius Naso?* From three passages [Vergil Scholia, *Buc.* 3, 105, ed. Hagen in *N. Jahrb.* Suppl. 4, 794; Commentary to *Hebrews* 11, 3 by Pseudo-Primasius or Haimo (Migne 117, 901 C); Glossarium of the so-called Philoxenus (CGIL 2, 22, 40 Götz; also *Gloss. Lat.* 2, 151 Lindsay)] Heraeus deduces the existence of a grammarian, Ovidius Naso, who cited Varro and was probably a commentator on the works of Vergil.

Pp. 406-410. Robert Philippson, *Nachtrag zu den Panaetiana* [cf. *Rh. Mus.* 78 (1929), 344 ff.]. Additional evidence from *Ox. Pap.* 11, 133 ff. (No. 1367) for the existence of a Heracleides, son of Serapion (to be distinguished from Heracleides Lembos), author of an epitome of Sotion. He was probably a pupil of Sotion and a Pythagorean.

Pp. 411-416. MISZELLEN.

P. 411. B. Warnecke, *Zur 'Agitatoria' des Naevius*. The fragment of the 'Agitatoria' (Ribbeck CRF³ p. 7, n. 2) is

probably from a quarrel between an old man and his wife. It is possible that the quarrel concerns the horse-racing proclivities of a son, who, like Pheidippides in Aristophanes *Clouds*, ἰππάζεται . . . ὀνειροπολεῖ θ' ἵππους.

Pp. 411-412. W. Morel, Begründendes *ita* im Catalepton II. In *Cat.* 2, 5 '*ita*' (causal) is to be read, not '*ista*' [as Reitzenstein *Rh. Mus.* 79 (1930), 70 ff.]. Examples of causal *ita*.

Pp. 413-416. Dietrich Müllder, Zu Catalepton III. Müllder defends the possibility of '*dedit*' in the last verse of *Catalepton* 3 against '*rapit*', the conjecture of Reitzenstein [*Rh. Mus.* 79 (1930), 86 f.].

Pp. 417-420. Register.

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MNEMOSYNE LX, PARTS 3 AND 4.

Pp. 231-238. G. Vollgraff, de Erasino Argivo. A bronze vase, found in 1930 during the excavation of the theatre, is inscribed TO ARAÏNO EMI TO ARAÏ in characters of the early part of the fifth century. ARAÏNO is interpreted as Ἐρασίνου.

Pp. 239-253. H. J. Scheltema, de antiphonia. Ἀντιφωνία is a case of two voices of different pitch singing an air, the higher-pitched of the two adding embellishments, some of whose intervals may be dissonant with the lower voice, but not disagreeably noticeable because of the speed with which they are executed.

Pp. 254-316. J. G. P. Borleffs, Index verborum quae Tertulliani de Paenitentia libello continentur. Text, apparatus criticus, and index verborum.

Pp. 317-320. S. Peppink, de Ammonii codice Laurentiano. Comparative readings from a manuscript not mentioned in Pauly-Wissowa under Ammonius.

Pp. 321-335. C. Brakman, I. f., ad Hegesippum quem edidit Vincentius Ussani. A few textual notes; numerous passages parallel with those in other authors; a few grammatical notes.

P. 336. B. A. van Groningen, ad titulum Pergamenum. Inscr. Perg. 1, 13, lines 4, ff.: mention of a year of 10 months looks toward the calculation of militia emerita as a whole, so that a soldier who has served 25 years of 12 months is credited as if he had served 30 years.

Pp. 337-360. A. J. Kronenberg, ad Epictetum. Textual notes on a number of passages, continued from *Mnemosyne* XXXVIII and LIII.

Pp. 361-368. Warren E. Blake, Euripidis Baccharum interpretatio secundum versus 877-881. Read as follows:

τί τὸ σοφόν; ἢ τί τὸ κάλλιον
παρὰ θεῶν γέρας ἐν βροτοῖς;
ἢ χεῖρ' ὑπὲρ κορυφᾶς
τῶν ἐχθρῶν κρείσσω κατέχειν;
ὃ τι καλὸν φίλον αἰεί.

Pp. 369-379. C. Brakman, I. f., Enniana. Ennius' dream has nothing to do with Callimachus; Homer's spirit transformed into a peacock symbolises eternity; Norden's "Ennius und Vergil" is commended; textual conjectures.

Pp. 380-384. S. Peppink, ad Aristophanem. Codex Marcianus 475 is not a copy of Venetus 474.

Pp. 385-402. H. I. Rose, de lupis, luperis, lupercalibus. It is not known for which of the gods the luperalia were celebrated; probably two tribes took part in the ceremonies at the earliest date; the manner of the rite is fairly well attested to; the Flamen Dialis was not present; the purpose was a lustratio, a warding off of the wolf, and an inducement of fecundity.

Pp. 403-408. R. J. Dam, de M. Apro ad Tac. Dial. cap. 2. A comparison of the characters of Aper and Antonius.

Pp. 409-422. S. Peppink, ad Nicephorum Walzii vol. 1. Textual notes.

Pp. 423-424. S. Peppink, de autographis Eustathianis cum codice Suidae comparatis. Eustathius does not make such mistakes as appear in Codex Marcianus 448; Codex Marcianus 460 is by the same hand, and therefore not that of Eustathius.

Pp. 425-435. A. J. Kronenberg, ad Plutarchi Moralia. Textual notes, continued from *Mnemosyne* LI, LII, LVIII.

P. 435. G. V., ad Carmen aureum. Verses 55-56 compared with Cleanthes, Hymn to Zeus, verses 23-24.

P. 436. G. V., ad Macrobian Saturn. 1, 18, 12. Emendation of Orphic frag. 237, verses 2 and 8.

Pp. 437-446. C. Brakman, I. f., ad Lucilium. Numerous emendations.

Pp. 447-448. F. Muller, J. f., ad Ciceronis in Verrem orationem V, 66. Instead of: Ipse autem triumphus quam ob rem omnium triumphorum gratissimus e. q. s., read: Ipse autem triumphus quam ob rem omnium proeliorum gratissimus.

P. 448. F. Muller, J. f., ad C. I. L. XIII, 10027, 221. hego scribo sinem manum on a bronze stylus is for ego scribo sine manu.

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REVIEWS.

Plautinische Akzentstudien. Von HANS DREXLER. Breslau, M. & H. Marcus (Abhandlungen der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Cultur, 6. 7. u. 9. Heft), 1932, 1933. I. Band, viii + 248 pp., 15 marks; II. Band, viii + 375 pp., 22 marks; Registerband, 72 pp., 4.20 marks.

Two extended works on early Latin verse have recently appeared. The first of these is Fraenkel's "Iktus und Akzent im lateinischen Sprechvers" published in 1928 (reviewed in *A. J. P. L.* [1929], 95 ff.). Fraenkel's treatise contains some valuable material, but, if taken literally, is almost a *reductio ad absurdum* of early Latin iambic and trochaic verse. For it maintains that in dialogue verse the metrical ictus always coincides with the accents of ordinary Roman prose speech, and this implies that Plautus and Terence were not Roman quantitative poets at all.

Drexler begins his own book with an examination of Fraenkel's results (pp. 5-25), but shows his good judgment by finally rejecting these views almost *in toto*. His own work is concerned with a study of important word-groups, which begin chiefly with a pyrrhic dissyllable (*meus, ego*) or a monosyllable (*quid, et, at*). He examines first monosyllables with a following iambic possessive, e. g. *rēm tuām, iūs meūm*, and prepositional *composita* such as *dē-tuō, ad-tuām*, where the possessive stands detached from a substantive (pp. 29-32). These groups follow the accent of cretic words (cf. *T. A. P. A.* XXXVI 175 n.). The 'light' possessive pronouns *meus, tuus* and *suus* are next treated (39-68) in connection with pyrrhic and iambic substantives, and the recessive accentuations *mēus (tūus) patrēr, mēus erūs, mēa sorór, mēa (túa) domūs* are shown (67) to be in almost exclusive use; thus, outside of anapaests, *meus erus* occurs only once (*Curc.* 177 *quód-meus erus*, p. 43). It had already been shown by Lindsay (*The Captivi*, p. 369²; *Early Latin Verse*, 158, 319) and by the present reviewer (*A. J. P.* XXV 260, 269; *T. A. P. A.* XXXVI 197) that in traditional and favored word-orders of the form *~ ~, ~ ~*, such as *mēus pater, mēus erus, égo quidem, égo scio, néque scio, égo volo, béne volo, béne facis, néque potest*, there is no place for two separate accents in the rapid legato pronunciation of common life and that in such groups the initial or recessive accent is practically the only one that is in use in dialogue verse. Drexler here cites all the examples in full and so establishes the usage very fully.¹

¹ Drexler refers very generously to the present reviewer, p. 25², when he speaks of "die Wortgruppentheorie von Skutsch und Lindsay, die am eindruckvollsten und auf breitester Grundlage von Radford vertreten

The accents *mí patér, méum erum, méum opus* are next illustrated,—also *méi patrís, méo patrí, méo viró* (already fully treated as synizesis forms *mêi patrís*, etc., in *T. A. P. A.* XXXVI 197). The light possessives are then examined (78-121) when used in connection with longer and heavier substantives, e. g. *meis fáctis, fortúnae túae* (*tuâe*), but almost no results that admit of clear statement are gained from the very lengthy citations here given.

Groups formed by a short monosyllable and an iambic or pyrrhic verb, e. g. *quid agis, béne agis, úbi erit*, are cited (126-147) under the designation of falling tribrach and anapaestic groups. The treatment is even more complete and detailed than that given in *T. A. P. A.* XXXIV 80 and *A. J. P.* XXV 271; not only are all cases of the regular initial accent *quid agis* quoted, but also (133) all cases of the reversed or metrical accent, e. g. *Stich.* 574 *quid agít parasítus*. Two or three examples are given of the accent \sim , \simeq occurring in cases where, according to the grammatical construction, no genuine group exists, e. g. *Phorm.* 777 *tú, Geta, ábi prae*; *Aul.* 187 *sat hábes* (unusual meaning), but the accent *quid ágis* is denied for all genuine groups (146). Yet while the view is expressed in *A. J. P.* XXV 26 that *séd ego, quís ea, séd erus* constitute genuine word-groups because of the I. E. traditional word-order as it affects the sentence-introducing conjunctions, Drexler professes to regard *at erit* as merely an accidental succession of a monosyllable and an iambic word (137, 143, 145). This view leads him to an unsatisfactory treatment of some cases which he considers "metrically ambiguous", e. g. *Capt.* 684 *at erit mi hoc fáctum* (142). In such examples he wavers and is in doubt.

A very lengthy study follows (148-197) of the dactylic groups which are formed by a long monosyllable and an iambic verb, but not very much of real value is added to the briefer discussion of the familiar groups *nón queó, níl morór, nón potést, quód facís, sí sapís, té voló, iám sció, né timé*, which is given in *A. J. P.* XXV 410 ff. A great mass of additional examples, however, are cited which show a variable or shifting accent, e. g. *Cas.* 401 and *Poen.* 1407 *hóc age sí*; *Poen.* 761 *hoc áge sis, léno* (153 f.), *ábi sis* and *abi sis* (230). In a later section (198) there is an excellent treatment of *quantúm potést*. There is also a careful study of the groups formed by pronouns of trochaic

worden ist." Apart from numerous minor references, this acknowledgment stands quite alone, however, and in his discussion of *quid ego, út ego* (II 138), he writes of "die Regel, die wir aufgestellt haben, 'the rule which we have brought forward'." This statement is misleading, especially to those German scholars who use American classical journals very moderately. Throughout the work only a part of Drexler's results are new.

scansion which here show an apparent oxytonesis, e. g. *quidquid agis, quidquid erat (erit), quidquid ibi, quisquis ille, ecquid agis, siquid erit, haecin erat*, etc., but almost nothing is added to the full treatment of these and similar pronominal combinations given in *T. A. P. A.* XXXV 36-47.

A large part of the first volume is both valuable and instructive, yet there are some serious faults. Thus we find too much petty detail and too much inconclusive discussion of single examples. The full treatment (140-197) of so many forms of the scansion—, ~ ~ seems quite unnecessary.

Lindsay (*The Captivi*, p. 370) had pointed out that the regular accent in dialogue verse is *ad-me, ad-se*, etc., and Ottenjann in his valuable dissertation had even explained *ad-te* as 'one word'. Drexler in his second volume cites all the examples of these phrases in full (II 6-16) and shows that, entirely without regard to the 'emphasis' or want of 'emphasis' attaching to the pronoun, such prepositional *composita* very rarely receive the accent upon the ultima and then only under those conditions where a spondee-word—such as *regnum*—may also be so accented.

Luchs's law that an iambic word at the end of the senarius must not be preceded by an iambus is next successfully extended (26-46). An exception is usually allowed to the law if a monosyllable precedes the iambic word, but Drexler shows conclusively that in those cases where two closely connected monosyllables (or a pyrrhic word and a long monosyllable) precede, they are treated very nearly as a single word and the fifth foot must still be a spondee or an anapaest, e. g. *hoc est*, not *hic est*; *quod sit*, not *quod est*; *mea sit*, not *mea est*. To vary the illustration, a senarius must end *quis hic est* homó Curc. 230, not *quis est* homó; *quid tu hic agis* (Cas. 789), not *quid hic agis*; *quid nunc agam* (Amph. 1046), not *quid hic agam*. A long discussion follows (56-134) upon *quid est* and *quid est*, *quid hoc* and *quid hóc*, *quid est* negóti and *quid est* negóti. Naturally we encounter once more no small 'Aporie' (92), and the only conclusion is that *quid est*, *quid hoc*, *quid hoc* negóti is the 'regular' accent, especially at the beginning of the sentence or the clause (45, 82); cf. also Lindsay, *Early Latin Verse*, 27, 320.

Ego has been quite fully discussed for Terence and for ten plays of Plautus in *T. A. P. A.* XXXIV 71 f., 83 ff., and in *A. J. P.* XXV 160, 260 f., 268 ff., and many of the recessive quadrisyllabic groups (which are formed by prefixed pyrrhic pronouns and adverbs) have been indicated, e. g. *ego sció*, *ego voló*, also *ita sció*, *néque sció*, *béne-voló*, etc. Just as the other weakly accented personal and demonstrative pronouns, *ego* manifests also a strong tendency to occupy the second or un-

accented place in the sentence (*A. J. P.* XXV 261), and this traditional word-order gives rise to very many trisyllabic groups, such as *quid ego*, *quod ego*, *quem ego*, *id ego*, *tibi ego*, *nisi ego*, *séd ego*, etc. In these groups the accent falls invariably upon the prefix even in those cases where *ego* becomes most strongly emphatic from the meaning of the sentence, e. g. *Men.* 1085 f. *Nón ego*. || *Át egô*. Yet since we have the frequent formulae *ego sum*, *ego me*, *ego te*, *ita me*, etc., in quadrisyllabic groups we may have either *ut-ego-sum*, *séd-ego-me*, *égo hodie*, or *ut-égo sum*, *sed-égo-me*, *ego hódie*, etc.—In the case of a long monosyllable, however, either *hércle ego* or *hercle égo* is admitted in all the feet (*A. J. P.* XXV 406).

Drexler confirms and supports all the results previously gained, but since he includes all the plays of Plautus and aims to cite and classify all the occurrences of *ego* without exception (*II* 135-291), he is able also to bring forward much valuable new material. His conclusions are as follows: Plautus has the type *quid ego* 450 times (p. 136), *ut ego* alone occurring 55 times and *át ego* 52 times (p. 141). At the beginning of trochaic verses he uses the phrase *quid ego núnc faciam* (7 times: p. 138), but he begins the senarius with *quid núnc ego fáciam* (twice). He accents (147) only *tibi ego dico*, *tibi ego crédam*, *míhi ego vídeo*, but if *ego* is emphatic in meaning he often begins (148) the sentence with *égo tibi*, *égo míhi*,—less often with *ego tibi*, *ego míhi*. Outside of groups such as (*quod*) *égo scio*, (*ut*) *égo te*,—to which Drexler adds (173) *égo nunc*, *égo iam*, *égo fero*—cases of the accent *quid égo*, *quod égo*, etc., are scarcely found (136 ff., 162, 229). The accents *quid égo* and *quid egô* are both negligible in number, and through their rarity only confirm the rule (190). In the type *quid ego* the principle of the grouping is more effective even than the meaning and the force of strongly emphasized words, as may be seen clearly where *quid ego*, *ét ego*, *át ego*, *néque ego*, etc., form an independent sentence or clause (155-163). The scansion *egô* is carefully discussed (268-274). While it is not frequent, it is allowed by Drexler after a long monosyllable in 'cretic groups' and in a few other cases, e. g. *Epid.* 688 *dico egô tibi iam*; *Amph.* 601 *ille egô*, *Andr.* 702 *átque egô*. In the case of a short monosyllable, however, Drexler holds (138, 163-167) that the accent of *quid ego*, unlike that of *quid agis*, cannot be reversed and that in such a case Plautus regularly elides the second syllable of *ego*, e. g. *Amph.* 792 *quid ego áudio*; *Poen.* 1112 *nam quem ego aspício*. This view is undoubtedly correct as a whole, yet Drexler admits (163, 188) one exception after a short monosyllable, *séd quid egô vídeo* (*Men.* 463), and should probably also admit 157, 185) *pol egô magis unum* (*Epid.* 453), where (*pol*) *égo-magis* is also barely possible.

Drexler's work is very diffuse and the material is not always well selected. His arguments are often too obscure and too metaphysical. Many of the conclusions set forth are not new, and he permits himself perhaps at times (e. g. II 343) to speak in too condescending a manner of the work of his predecessors. Yet the total impression produced is one of thoroughness and accuracy, the method of treatment is on an unusually large and generous scale, and it is a distinct cause for congratulation that so capable and diligent a scholar should have taken up anew difficult questions of group and sentence accentuation and have obtained so many important and instructive results.

Excellent Indices add greatly to the value of the work.

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Die Ueberlieferung der Scholien zu Apollonios von Rhodos.

CARL WENDEL. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1932.

This book is virtually the announcement of a new edition of the scholia to the Argonautica of Apollonius of Rhodes, to accompany a projected new edition of the poem, by Hermann Fränkel. It is also the completion of the work earlier begun by L. Deicke in his dissertation which was reviewed in A. J. Ph. XXXI 91-93. Deicke was working toward a new critical edition of the scholia. Prior to his death in 1914 considerable progress had been made. Using Deicke's unpublished material Wendel has re-surveyed the entire field, and the book of 118 pages here reviewed is a critical sifting of the material on which the new edition will be based.

The effort of Deicke was to work back to an earlier form of the text than that which is in our three principal witnesses. These witnesses are: 1. the *editio princeps* (F) which was later edited by Stephanus and which for over three hundred years constituted the only published text of the scholia. 2. The Paris scholia (P), published in 1813 by Schaefer in Brunck's edition of the Argonautica, from a manuscript no. 2727 in the National Library in Paris. 3. The scholia as found in codex Laurentianus 32.9 (L) and first published entire in 1854 in the edition of Merkel and Keil. Keil held that the text of L was prior to all others and that F and P were subsequent and inferior. However, in the years since 1854 Keil's view of the exclusive value of L was frequently challenged. It was argued that F and P do not derive from L but that they often agree in readings that are manifestly genuine and superior to those of L. The formula with which Deicke operated was that F and P have a common source, which each has in its own way modified. This common source is not derived from L but is rather parallel with L.

Deicke collated all the hitherto uncollated Italian manuscripts, and Wendel has extended the field of observation by gathering the testimony of mss. outside of Italy. A fresh examination of this mass of evidence leads Wendel to the conclusion that of the four groups of manuscripts that can be recognized only two have independent authority as witnesses to the text. These are the Recensio Laurentiana, best represented by Laur. 32.9, and the Recensio Parisina, best represented by the Paris manuscript no. 2727. The new result reached by Wendel is that the *editio princeps* which has hitherto been credited with a degree of authority is wholly secondary and derived, being a combination of L and P.

Now that the field is cleared of all but these two witnesses it remains to compare them. L is extraordinarily good, yet in places is defective. It lacked for example the hypothesis to Book I. P is as bad as L is good. The original material is rephrased with a view to simplification, and there are failures to understand the original sense. But there is a core of good material in P that can be explained only by assuming the use of a good manuscript resembling L, but the peer not the derivative of L. Examples of this good material are given on pp. 48-49.

It becomes possible, then, to speak of the archetype of all existing manuscripts and to recognize that this archetype was substantially such a manuscript as Laur. 32.9, and one showing the same defects. Wendel pushes even further back toward the beginning in that he finds evidence for a conclusion as to the predecessor of the archetype. This predecessor, "die Scholien-vorlage des Archetypus", was richer than the archetype, containing at least the missing hypothesis to Book I and certain scholia that were later lost.

The direct manuscript tradition of the scholia may be traced back as far as—to use a probable date—the time of Photius (p. 117). There are traces of a process of abridgment. Further evidence of this abridgment is gained from a comparison with the etymological literature. The *Etymologicum Magnum* contains glosses which expressly quote the scholia to Apollonius. Frequently a fuller and better text of the poem is quoted. The value of this material was recognized by Merkel and was to some extent used in his edition of 1854. Since then there have come to light two mss. of the *Etymologicum Magnum* that differ considerably, and often for the better, from the printed text in Gaisford's edition. Specimens from these mss. have been published by Miller, and notably by Reitzenstein in his *Geschichte der Griechischen Etymologika*. Wendel has had access to whatever is available of this material, and he follows Reitzenstein in using the term *Etymologicum Genuinum* to describe this improved but still unedited text of the Et. M. Upon inspection it

appears that the compiler of *Et. Gen.* had before him a text of the scholia which is older and better than that of the archetype of the extant manuscripts. Tangible proof of this exists in the occurrence, for example, of the names of seven authors whose names have disappeared from the abridged text of the scholia in our manuscripts.

The testimony of *Et. Gen.* reaches back to the ninth century. It is possible to get a glimpse of the state of the text as early as the fifth century. Two lexicographers, Orus and Methodius, certain of whose glosses have been preserved in the later lexicographers, had access to scholia to the *Argonautica*, and that too in a fuller form than that which is in our manuscripts. The history of the text, then, as Wendel reconstructs it, may be summarized as follows: Theon, the grammarian, wrote a commentary to the *Argonautica*. About fifty years later Lucillus of Tarrha edited the *Argonautica* with a commentary that dealt briefly with language and subject matter. Still later, a certain Sophocles (or Sophocleius, as *Laur.* 32. 9 gives the name) composed a more voluminous commentary, using presumably much good mythographical and geographical lore from Theon's then almost forgotten work. Orus and Methodius borrowed from this work of Sophocles. Then, in the fifth century an unknown editor reduced the existing material to the form which is best known from the ms. *Laur.* 32. 9, and he added after the last note to the last verse of the poem: "The scholia from Lucillus of Tarrha and Sophocleius and Theon are here." This fifth century "Sylloge" as we may call it set limits to the compass of the scholia. The earlier works upon which the Sylloge was based were forgotten. The Sylloge alone survived, and from time to time suffered abridgment, whether by accident or by the inertia of the scribe. So the manuscript tradition stood down to the time of the invention of printing.

This work of Wendel which is here summarized has been done with infinite patience and great acumen. The resultant text of the scholia will conform to the canons of critical editing, but the result will not be revolutionary. As the concluding sentence of the book puts it, the modern editor will do as Laskaris did, build on *Laur.* 32. 9 and the core of the recensio Parisina, using however more thoroughly than hitherto the neglected collateral evidence.

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Fausto Ghisalberti, *Giovanni di Garlandia: Integumenta Ovidii, poemetto inedito del secolo XIII* (Testi e Documenti Inediti o Rari, II), Messina-Milano: Casa Editrice Giuseppe Principato. 1933. Paper. Pp. 79. L. 20. Three hundred numbered copies.

This first edition of the thirteenth-century allegorical commentary (in 260 elegiac couplets) on Ovid by the famous Paris grammarian is accompanied by a complete introduction dealing with the identity of this work and its author, its use and popularity in its own day, the style, method and purpose of the poem, and a few brief remarks on the manuscripts (pp. 1-27). The matter of sources and illustrative material is very ably and fully presented in the notes appended to the text. In the reviewer's opinion more space could have been given to matters of style, to certain negative evidence concerning the sources, and to the verbal indebtedness of the poem to the *Metamorphoses*; and greater accuracy of typography, especially in the text and apparatus, might have been attained; but it is in the recension of the text that the editor has really failed to satisfy.

Ghisalberti bases his text upon four manuscripts, O(D), Ps(P), V, Vp, and certain marginalia, using two of the three independent manuscripts, indicated in the stemma which I published several years ago.¹ However, he nowhere evaluates V and Vp (as well as the marginalia) which were unknown to me. From the information in the *apparatus criticus* it is clear that of V and Vp neither could have been copied from the other, and that neither could have been the direct archetype of any of the other existing manuscripts, because of the omissions of certain lines and the presence of certain variant readings peculiar to V and Vp; e. g., 28 fidem] fretum Vp, 64 rudes] virum V, 350 statusque] fonsque V. Neither could have been copied from any of the other manuscripts because each of the two contains lines omitted in various others. What their respective relations to the groups and independent manuscripts are, is not so readily seen. Vp has some strange similarities to Ps: they both omit lines 129-134, 149-150; but compare in 62 clausa O Vp, 83 viciorum] viciosaque Vp CUAA¹, 137 fert] sunt VpL. From its mere 152 lines now extant little can be concluded; it appears to have some connection with Ps β , which latter, as I have shown, exerted some influence on Ps itself. The case for V is not much

¹ "The Manuscripts of the *Integumenta* on the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid", *TAPA LX* (1929), pp. 179-199, to which I refer later. The letters in parentheses are those used in my stemma. In his discussion of my readings Ghisalberti (pp. 32-33) in three cases has apparently misunderstood my points, for in those places (vv. 123, 189, 449) my text agrees with his; in certain others I gladly acknowledge the pertinence of his criticisms.

clearer: V omits 1-12, PsL omit 9-12; 212 fatue] statim VLamb.; 298 speciosa VLRP⁴; 366 metuisse Va; 374 obstruit] obruit Va; 404 necat] notat Va (less CU); 487 mittuntur] mutantur PsV. The relationship seems stronger with β (with its connection with Ps) than with any other group. However, it possesses none of the added lines peculiar to that group, and contains lines that are omitted therein.

If all the marginalia in each of the manuscripts listed are by the same hand throughout, we may reach at least some negative conclusions; I have only the material from Ghisalberti's apparatus with which to work. CU omit 151-152, which are quoted in P¹P⁴P⁵P⁶P⁷, AA¹; Ps Vp omit 129-134 which are in P⁶⁻⁸; R omits 131-134, but 131 is in P⁶, 133 in P⁷; Ps Vp omit 149-150, which are found in P⁴⁻⁷ AA¹; Ps omits 267-270 which is found in P⁴P⁵P⁷ AA¹; Ps omits 273-274 which is found in AA¹. In some cases, the added lines to which I have referred appear: p. 204 in CU Amb. P⁷ Par. 8005; p. 206 in CULRH Amb. Ric. Par. 8005, 8009; p. 210 in CUL Amb. Ric.; p. 212 in CU Amb. It is obvious that these manuscripts were glossed from copies in the β group or from others related to them. The readings of 83 already cited, of 117 sumpserunt] traxere CU AA¹ Ps P⁶, and 212 fatue] statim VL Amb., 473 scilicet] solis CUP⁴, support this, and, with the exception of 212, indicate a much closer relation to CU than to LR. At all events the evidence of such marginalia cannot, and must not, be received as that of independent manuscripts.

Ghisalberti often follows the reading of O(D) in the face of good authority to the contrary; e. g., in lines 12, 40, 46 (OVp), 62 (OVp), 90, 97, 102, 120, 138, 170, 198, 225 (OP⁴), 245, 289, 378 (ORU), 416. In all these lines, in my opinion, the sense demands the reading of the majority of the manuscripts, or at least an obvious reading indicated by that majority. Several lines are based on readings from citations, especially P⁴ (readings from marginalia in a Paris Ms of Ovid), in the face of convincing evidence from the main manuscripts; e. g., in lines 208 (Amb. Par. 18546), 212 (Ps Par. 18546), 225 (OP⁴), 465, 468, 471, 474, 482, 484. With the readings in several other lines I would not agree: e. g., in 15, where the text is emended; 50, where *dicam*, for which there is no authority (or apparatus), is read; 134, where *et*, for which there is no authority, is read; 193, where PsC are followed (there is no apparatus) in a *lectio facilior*; 219, where *sapientia* is emended to *sapientie* (cf. *Ov. Mor.* IV. 6301); 296, where balance is destroyed by following V (HML); and 508, where Ps, in the *lectio facilior*, is followed.

It is easier to criticise than to create. Ghisalberti has aided us all with his excellent commentary, but in my opinion his text is not comparable to it.

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Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum. Hegesippi qui dicitur historici libri V. Ed. VINCENTIUS USSANI. Vienna, 1932. Pars prior, pp. 423.

The present volume is the sixty-sixth of the Vienna corpus of ecclesiastical texts, and its appearance is a reassuring sign that this important enterprise of the Vienna Academy is not moribund. A fear of this seemed warranted by the desperate financial conditions in Austria in the post-war period. Publications came almost to a standstill; only four volumes of the series had appeared since the war, these being texts that had been practically finished before 1914. Finally came the announcement that the German bookseller Fock had taken over the stock of books that remained in the hands of the Vienna publishers: in point of fact, the work on a number of texts has made a more or less steady progress since the war and more recently it has been only the necessity of making new arrangements with the publishers that has delayed the appearance of two additional volumes. The preparation of many of these texts involves an enormous amount of labor owing to the large number of MSS involved, and the preliminary work is often a matter of years. The difficulties of such an undertaking may be illustrated by the text of the *Ambrosiaster*. The editing of this work in three volumes was assigned to the Jesuit Heinrich Brewer, who died in 1922 after spending twenty years in collecting material; his successor, another Jesuit, Alfred Feder died in 1928, and a third member of the order, A. Grimm, is now carrying on the task, collating new MSS and revising collations already made.

The text of *Hegesippus* came near to being a casualty of the war. It was sent to the printer in 1914 and for a long time publication seemed improbable. This led Ussani to publish the first book in the *Proceedings of the Venice Academy* (1922); the Vienna publishers, however, resumed activity in 1927 and the text part (Vol. II) was in print in 1928. Since then publication has been delayed by the inability of the editor to complete Vol. I (*Indices and Praefatio*). It was finally decided to publish Vol. II separately.

The new edition marks a definite advance on that of *Weber-Caesar* (1864, reprinted in *Ballerini's* edition of *Ambrosius*, 1875-83), which was based on the *Cassel MS* (saec. VI/VII); but a critical discussion of the text will not be possible until the first volume appears. In addition to the *Casselanus*, Ussani has used an *Ambrosianus* (saec. VI/VII) and a half-dozen MSS dating from the eighth to the eleventh century; for an estimation of their value we must await the appearance of Vol. I. The important problem is, of course, to determine the relative merits of the two ancient MSS but it will also be of interest to learn the position of the later MSS in the tradition: one would

like to know, for example, why at 319.12 the editor rejects the reading *inulti* of HBZ in favor of *inutiles* (*dedecores atque inutiles sicut pecora trucidabantur*) where Sallust's *Historiae* have *dedecores inultique terga ab hostibus caedebantur*. Perhaps the most interesting feature of the present volume is its list of reminiscences of classical authors—our text is not a translation but rather an adaptation in Latin of the Greek original. The author most frequently imitated is, of course, Vergil, with over a hundred examples from the *Aeneid*, and some twenty from the *Georgics*, but only two or three from the *Eclogues*. Next in order of frequency is Sallust; Ussani cites some thirty parallels from the *Jugurtha* and about half that number from the *Catiline*. The "translator" also had a MS of the *Historiae* from which he appears to have drawn freely—about twenty-five parallels are found in the surviving fragments of Sallust. He had another work that was rare in the Middle Ages—Tacitus; a half-dozen citations occur from the *Annales* and the *Historiae*, also two or three from the *Germania*. Livy (Book XXXVII) is imitated twice. Cicero is not used as often as one might expect; the texts represented are: *De finibus* (once), *Philippics* (twice), *De diuinatione* (once), *De officiis* (twice), *Milo*, *Tusculans*, *De Senectute*, *De provinciis consularibus* (once or twice each); the references from the *De republica*, with one exception, and that a doubtful one, are all from the *Somnium Scipionis* and may have been taken from Macrobius. Horace is imitated about a dozen times; half the cases are from the *Odes*; the rest are from the *Satires* and the *Epistles*. Other authors are represented by only a few parallels: Terence (2), Lucan (4), Ovid, *Metamorphoses* (3), Seneca, *De clementia* (1), Phaedra (1), Agamemnon (1), Claudian (1), Solinus (4), and in the speeches, the *Ps.-Quintilian Declamationes*, several times. The parallels with Ambrosius are of special interest in connection with the question of authorship. The testimonia include Bede, Adamnan and, the most frequent of all, Isidore.

At the end of the volume one page of addenda and corrigenda is devoted to the text and three pages to the critical apparatus. The editor promises also to enlarge his *Index locorum* by additional citations from Ambrosius, Cicero, Isidore, Sallust and Vergil.

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Menekrates Zeus und Salmones. By OTTO WEINREICH. Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer, 1933. Pp. 130.

This study, which is the eighteenth volume of the *Tübinger Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft*, is primarily concerned with

Menecrates, the Syracusan physician of the IV century B. C., who posed as Zeus because he claimed that he alone gave life to mankind by working cures, especially of epilepsy, the *ἱερὰ νόσος*. He wore a divine costume of purple robe, golden crown, sceptre, and *κρηπίδες*, while he was surrounded by a court composed of distinguished men whom he designated as his *δοῦλοι* and who played the rôle of such divinities as Hermes, Asclepius, Heracles, Apollo, and Helius. He likewise wrote letters with the signature "Menecrates Zeus" to monarchs, as, for example, to Philip of Macedon.

Weinreich has made a careful investigation of our sources of information on this strange physician and has also studied a great number of modern cases of religious paranoia which show striking parallels to the various manifestations of the divine state assumed by Menecrates, who is shown most convincingly to have been a religious paranoiac.

On the other hand the mythological king Salmoneus, who is represented as imitating and opposing Zeus, apparently was a pre-Hellenic divine monarch who, in time, came to be caricatured by Greek *σωφροσύνη* and transformed into a paranoiac.

The psychiatric material adduced by Weinreich is tremendously illuminating for the understanding of the cult paid in antiquity to rulers or to private persons. This most readable and scholarly book should be of exceptional interest for all who concern themselves with the history of religion or with psychiatry.

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